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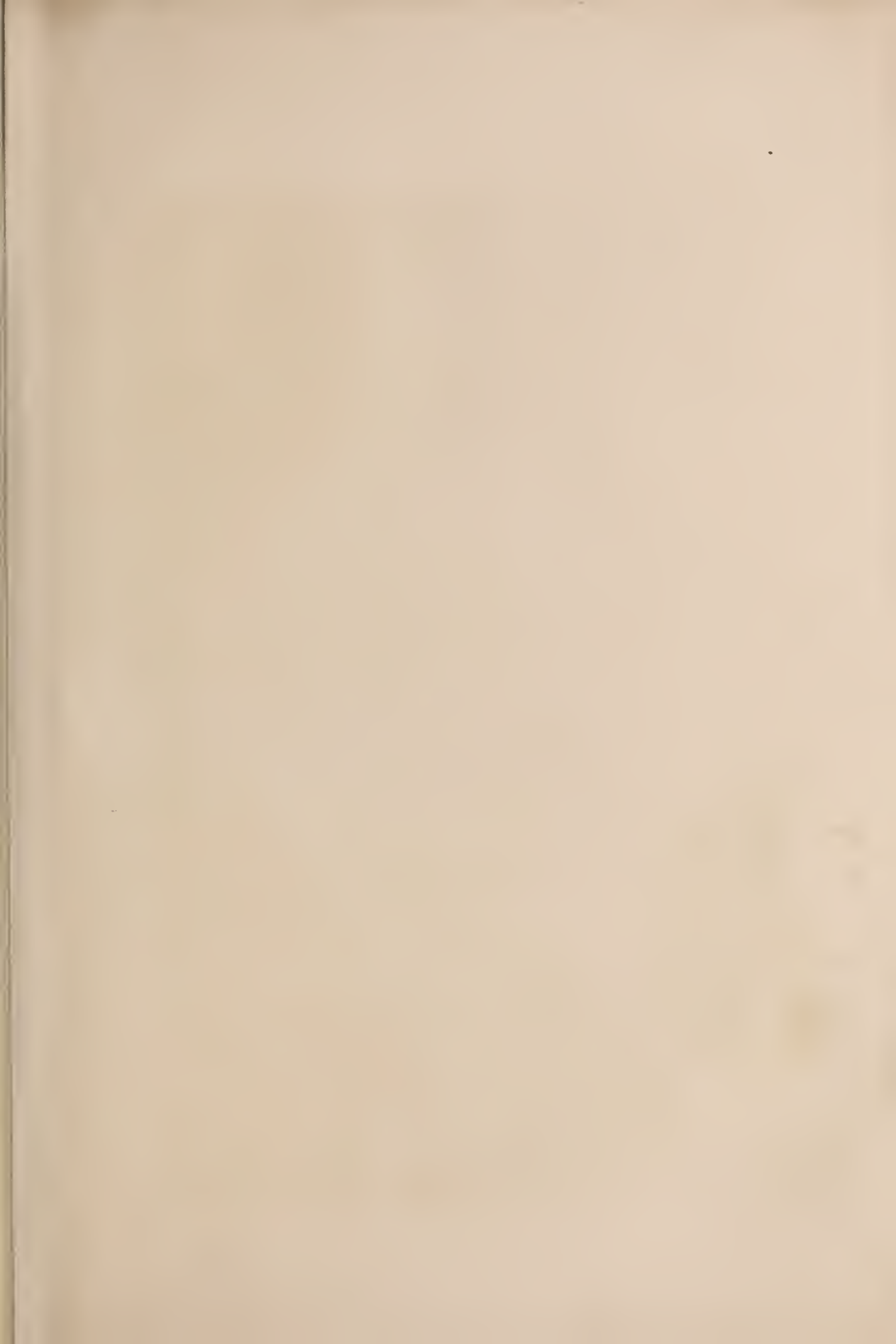
Charles Ball

History of the Indian mutiny

VII











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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# HISTORY

of the

# INDIAN MISSION











Jerusalem, from the Temple Mount, looking towards the West.





THE MOUNTAINS OF SWITZERLAND. A. N. 17. THE MOUNTAINS OF SWITZERLAND. A. N. 17.





511 MILA. NEAR BELLA ST. 1860.

Engraved by J. H. Smith, from a drawing by A. S. 1860.

















THE GREAT MOSQUE, A. P. H. A. C. L. E. OF THE TEMPLE OF THE GREAT MOSQUE.







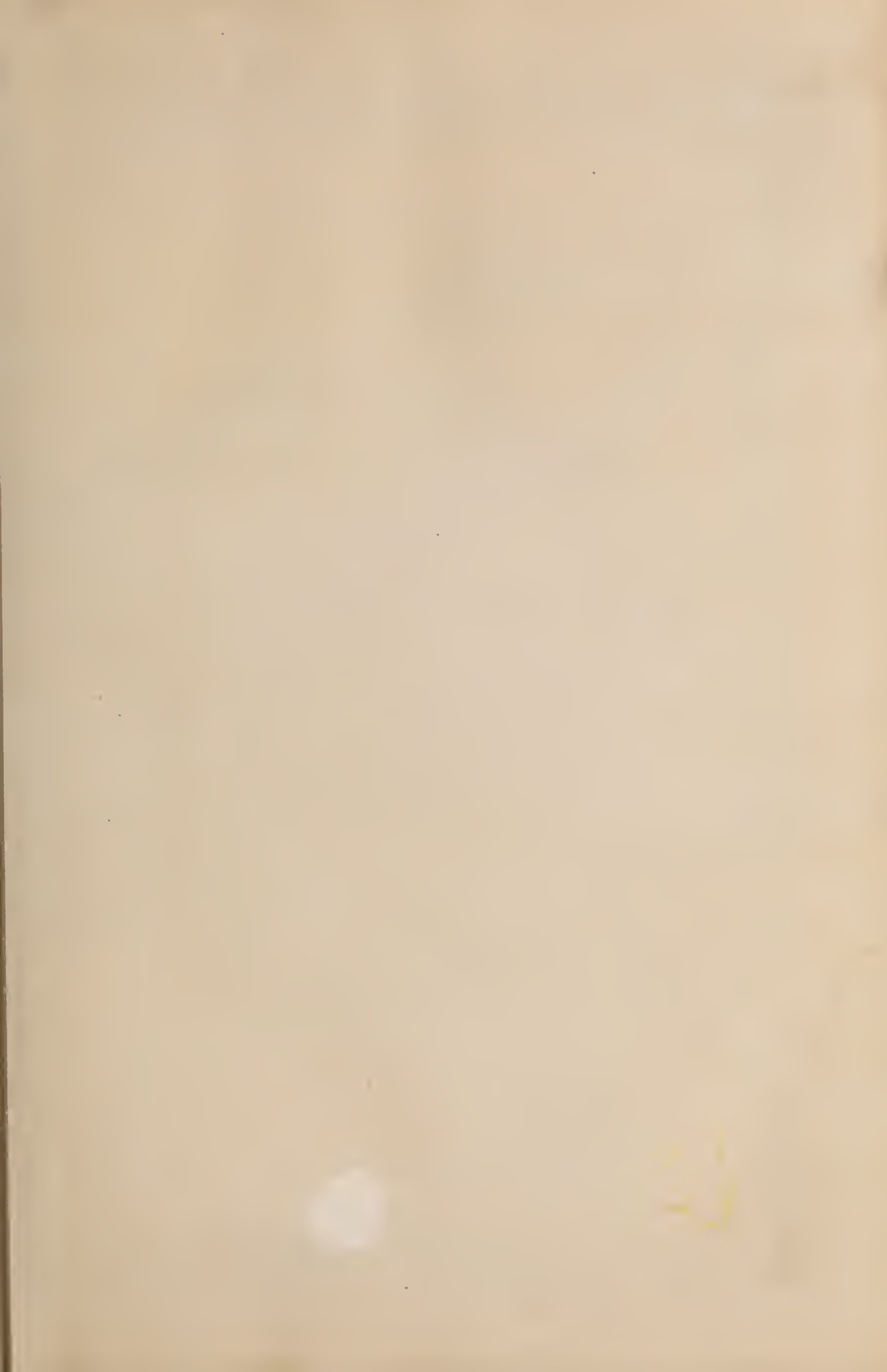


View of the Harbor of Genoa, Italy, from the Sea.









## A LIST OF 24 PRINCIPAL

Place.	Date.
Arcot .....	Nov. 14, 1751
Plassy .....	June 23, 1757
Patnas .....	Jan. 15, 1761
Buxar .....	Oct. 23, 1764
Sedaseer .....	March 6, 1799
Seringapatam .....	May 4, 1799
Delhi .....	Sept. 11, 1803
Assaye .....	Sept. 23, 1803
Deeg .....	Nov. 13, 1804
Kirkee .....	Nov. 5, 1817
Asseerghur .....	April 9, 1819
Bhurtpoor .....	Jan. 18, 1826



THE EAST INDIA COMPANY



### REFERENCE

- British Possessions
- States under British Protection
- Independent States

Longitude East from Greenwich



## AL VICTORIES IN INDIA, FROM 1751 TO 1849.

Commander.	Place.	Date.	Commander.
Clive.	Ghuznee	Jan. 23, 1839	Sir John Keane
Col. Clive	Khelat	Nov. 13, 1839	Maj.-Gen. Willshire.
Carnac.	Jellalabad	April 7, 1842	Sir Robert Sale.
Munro.	Tezeen	Sept. 13, 1842	General Pollock.
al Harris.	Meanee	Feb. 17, 1843	Sir Charles Napier.
	Maharajpore.	Dec. 29, 1843	Lord Gough.
al Lake.	Moodkee	Dec. 15, 1845	Ditto.
al Wellesley.	Aliwal	Jan. 28, 1846	Sir H. Smith.
Gen. Fraser.	Sobraon	Feb. 10, 1846	Lord Gough.
Col. Burr.	Mooltan	Jan. 2, 1849	General Whish.
Gen. Doveton	Chillianwalla.	Jan. 13, 1849	Lord Gough.
Combermere.	Gujerat	Feb. 21, 1849	Ditto.

## LIST OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA,

FROM 1773 TO 1859.

	from 1773 to 1785
Warren Hastings	— 1773 — 1785
Earl Cornwallis	— 1786 — 1793
Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth)	— 1793 — 1798
Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley)	— 1798 — 1805
Earl Cornwallis (2nd Administration)	— 1805 — 1805
Earl Minto	— 1806 — 1813
Lord Moira (Marquis of Hastings)	— 1813 — 1823
Lord Amherst	— 1823 — 1828
Lord William Bentinck	— 1828 — 1835
Lord Auckland	— 1835 — 1842
Earl of Ellenborough	— 1842 — 1844
Sir Henry (Lord) Hardinge	— 1844 — 1848
Earl of Dalhousie	— 1848 — 1855
Viscount (Earl) Canning	— 1855 Floreat.

SCALE



NOTE  
For continuation of India see  
Map of India & BURMA.





altered by the authority of her majesty in council: provided, that where a warrant or authority for the payment of money passes through the audit department at the East India House before payment, it shall be countersigned by such officer or officers of that audit department as the secretary of state in council may direct before payment shall be made; and that warrants or authorities which have heretofore been signed by two directors of the East India Company, shall, after the commencement of this act, be signed by three members of the council of India.

LII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant; and every such auditor shall hold office during good behaviour; and there shall be paid to such auditor and assistants, out of the revenues of India, such respective salaries as her majesty, by warrant as aforesaid countersigned as aforesaid, may direct; and such auditor shall examine and audit the accounts of the receipt, expenditure, and disposal in Great Britain of all moneys, stores, and property applicable for the purposes of this act; and the secretary of state in council shall, by the officers and servants of the establishment, produce and lay before such auditor from time to time all such accounts, accompanied by proper vouchers for the support of the same, and shall submit to his inspection all books, papers, and writings having relation thereto; and such auditor shall have power to examine all such officers and servants in Great Britain of the establishment as he may see fit in relation to such accounts, and the receipt, expenditure, or disposal of such moneys, stores, and property, and for that purpose, by writing under his hand, to summon before him any such officer or servant; and such auditor shall report from time to time to the secretary of state in council his approval or disapproval of such accounts, with such remarks and observations in relation thereto as he may think fit, specially noting any case, if such there shall be, in which it shall appear to him that any money arising out of the revenues of India has been appropriated to other purposes than those of the government of India, to which alone they are declared to be applicable; and shall specify in detail in his reports all sums of money, stores, and property which ought to be accounted for, and are not brought into account or have not been appropriated, in conformity with the provisions of this act, or have been expended or disposed of without due authority, and shall also specify any defects, inaccuracies, or irregularities which may appear in such accounts, or in the authorities, vouchers, or documents having relation thereto; and all such reports shall be laid before both houses of parliament by such auditor, together with the accounts of the year to which the same may relate.

LIII. The secretary of state in council shall, within the first fourteen days during which parliament may be sitting next after the first day of May in every year, lay before both houses of parliament an account for the financial year preceding that last completed, of the annual produce of the revenues of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, at each of the several presidencies or gov-

ernments, and of all the annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad on account of the government of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, and also the amount of the debts chargeable on the revenues of India, with the rates of interest they respectively carry, and the annual amount of such interest, the state of the effects and credits at each presidency or government, and in England or elsewhere, applicable to the purposes of the government of India, according to the latest advices which have been received thereof, and also a list of the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and the salaries and allowances payable in respect thereof; and if any new or increased salaries or pensions of fifty pounds a-year or upwards have been granted or created within any year, the particulars thereof shall be specially stated and explained at the foot of the account of such year; and such account shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed reports from each presidency and district in India, in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition of India in each such presidency.

LIV. When any order is sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities by her majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both houses of parliament within three months after the sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, unless such order shall have been in the meantime revoked or suspended, and if parliament be not sitting at the end of such three months, then within one month after the next meeting of parliament.

LV. Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of her majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both houses of parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by her majesty's forces charged upon such revenues.

*Existing Establishments.*—LVI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

LVII. Provided, that it shall be lawful for her majesty from time to time by order in council to alter or regulate the terms and conditions of service

under which persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces shall be commissioned, enlisted, or entered to serve; and the forms of attestation and of the oath or declaration to be used and taken or made respectively on attesting persons to serve in her majesty's Indian forces, shall be such as her majesty with regard to the European forces, and the governor-general of India in council with regard to the native forces, shall from time to time direct: provided, that every such order in council shall be laid before both houses of parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if parliament be sitting, and if parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

LVIII. All persons who at the time of the commencement of this act shall hold any offices, employments, or commissions whatever under the said Company in India shall thenceforth be deemed to hold such offices, employments, and commissions under her majesty as if they had been appointed under this act, and shall be paid out of the revenues of India; and the transfer of any person to the service of her majesty shall be deemed to be a continuance of his previous service, and shall not prejudice any claims to pension, or any claims on the various annuity funds of the several presidencies in India, which he might have had if this act had not been passed.

LIX. All orders, regulations, and directions lawfully given or made before the commencement of this act by the Court of Directors or by the commissioners for the affairs of India shall remain in force; but the same shall, from and after the commencement of this act, be deemed to be the orders, regulations, and directions under this act, and take effect and be construed and be subject to alteration or revocation accordingly.

LX. All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

LXI. The appointments and powers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

LXII. All books, records, and archives of the said Company, except such books and documents as concern the ownership of shares in the capital stock of the said Company, and the payments to the proprietors of such capital stock of their respective shares of the dividend thereon, shall be delivered into the care and custody of the secretary of state in council as they may direct.

LXIII. In case the person who shall be entitled under any provisional appointment to succeed to the office of governor-general of India upon a vacancy therein, or who shall be appointed absolutely to assume that office, shall be in India (upon or after the happening of the vacancy, or upon or after the receipt of such absolute appointment, as the case may require), but shall be absent from Fort William, in Bengal, or from the place where the council of the governor-general of India may then be, and it shall appear to him necessary to exercise the powers of governor-general before he shall have taken his seat in council, it shall be lawful for him to make known

by proclamation his appointment, and his intention to assume the said office of governor-general; and after such proclamation, and thenceforth until he shall repair to Fort William, or the place where the council may assemble, it shall be lawful for him to exercise alone all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the governor-general in council, except the power of making laws and regulations: and all acts done in the exercise of the said powers, except as aforesaid, shall be of the same force and effect as if they had been done by the governor-general in council; provided that all acts done in the said council after the date of such proclamation, but before the communication thereof to such council, shall be valid, subject, nevertheless, to revocation or alteration by the person who shall have so assumed the said office of governor-general; and when the office of governor-general is assumed under the foregoing provision, if there be at any time before the governor-general takes his seat in council no vice-president of the council authorised to preside at meetings for making laws and regulations (as provided by section twenty-two of the act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty), the senior ordinary member of council then present shall preside therein, with the same powers as if a vice-president had been appointed and were absent.

*Continuance of Existing Enactments.*—LXIV. All acts and provisions now in force, under charter or otherwise, concerning India, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, continue in force, and be construed as referring to the secretary of state in council, in the place of the said Company and the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors thereof, and all enactments applicable to the officers and servants of the said Company in India, and to appointments to office or admissions to service by the said Court of Directors, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, remain applicable to the officers and servants continued and to the officers and servants appointed or employed in India, and to appointments to office and admissions to service under the authority of this act.

*Actions and Contracts.*—LXV. The secretary of state in council shall and may sue and be sued as well in India as in England by the name of the secretary of state in council as a body corporate; and all persons and bodies politic shall and may have and take the same suits, remedies, and proceedings, legal and equitable, against the secretary of state in council of India as they could have done against the said Company; and the property and effects hereby vested in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India, or acquired for the said purposes, shall be subject and liable to the same judgments and executions as they would while vested in the said Company have been liable to in respect of debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company.

LXVI. The secretary of state in council shall, with respect to all actions, suits, and all proceedings by or against the said Company pending at the time of the commencement of this act, come in the place of the said Company, and that without the necessity of substituting the name of the secretary of state in council for that of the said Company.

LXVII. All treaties made by the said Company shall be binding on her majesty, and all contracts, covenants, liabilities and engagements of the said Company made, incurred, or entered into before the commencement of this act, may be enforced by and



against the secretary of state in council in like manner and in the same courts as they might have been by and against the said Company if this act had not been passed.

LXVIII. Neither the secretary of state nor any member of the council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any contract entered into under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said secretary of state or secretary of state in council in their official capacity; but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

LXIX. After the commencement of this act such of the directors as have been elected by the general court of the said Company, or who shall from time to time be so elected, shall be the directors of the said Company, and the major part of such directors for the time being shall form a Court of Directors; and where the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of ten directors is now requisite, the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of the major part of the directors for the time being shall be sufficient; and to the intent that the number of directors may be reduced to six, two directors only shall be elected by the general court of the said Company at each biennial election to fill the vacancies occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of directors; and so much of the said act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty as requires any of the directors to be persons who have resided ten years in India shall be repealed, and in the oath to be taken by a director of the said Company, under section thirteen of the said act, the words "in the administration of the government of India in trust for the crown" shall be omitted.

LXX. It shall no longer be obligatory on the directors to summon four general quarterly courts in every year as heretofore.

LXXI. Except claims of mortgages of the security fund hereinbefore mentioned, the said Company shall not, after the passing of this act, be liable in respect of any claim, demand, or liability which has arisen or may hereafter arise out of any treaty, covenant, contract, grant, engagement, or fiduciary obligation made, incurred, or entered into by the said Company before the passing of this act, whether the said Company would, but for this act, have been bound to satisfy such claim, demand, or liability out of the revenues of India, or in any other manner whatsoever.

*Saving of certain Rights of the Company.*—LXXII. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state in council to pay to the said Company out of the revenues of India such annual sum as her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers, and otherwise in relation to such stock.

LXXIII. Nothing herein contained shall affect the preference secured by the said act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth to the dividend on the capital stock of the said Company or the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the said dividend secured by such act; and all the provisions of the said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force,

save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund, the approbation of the secretary of state in council shall be required.

*Commencement of the Act.*—LXXIV. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXXV. This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor-general of India; and until such proclamation be made, all acts, matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

Such, then, was the legislative and royal act by which, on the 2nd day of August, 1858, one of the great powers of the civilised world became extinguished. An important chapter in the annals of human existence, and perhaps the most romantic of the whole, had been closed by the fiat of an earthly sovereign, upon whom the mantle of victory had descended, and whose sceptre extended to the confines of the habitable globe. The great ruler before whom Eastern potentates had been taught to bend as tributaries, and to serve as vassals—the mighty Company, whose mere name and shadow had been a spell on the imagination of two hundred millions of men for long generations—was now deposed, powerless and extinct. Its lust of power, and pride of place, had suddenly, by stronger hands, been wrested from its grasp; and henceforth, the political and territorial acquisitions of nearly two centuries became the patrimony of strange rulers; and the destinies of the teeming millions that had grown up in subjection to the merchant princes of Leadenhall-street, passed, like household chattels, into the hands of a more powerful owner. Such, in effect, was the result of the sepoy mutiny of 1857, as connected with the domination of "The Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies."

"So falls, so languishes, grows dim and dies  
All that this world is proud of. From their spheres  
The stars of human glory are cast down:  
Faded the pageantry, and pomp of kings,  
Princes, and chiefs; the dazzling crowns and palms  
Of all these mighty, prostrate and bedimmed."

For the sake of chronological accuracy, it is proper here to observe, that during the discussions which ensued in the early stages of the India Bill in the House of Peers, it was

incidentally mentioned by the premier (the Earl of Derby), that her majesty had signified her intention to record her appreciation of the meritorious services of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief in India, by elevating that officer to the dignity of the peerage; and that the official announcement of the royal pleasure was only retarded by the necessity that had arisen for communicating with Sir Colin upon the subject of the title to be conferred upon him. His lordship also stated, that as soon as the reply of the gallant veteran was received, an *Extraordinary Gazette* would make known the distinction he had so richly earned. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, the following announcement appeared in the *London Gazette* :—

“Whitehall, August 3rd.

“The Queen has been pleased to direct letters-patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Clyde, of Clydesdale, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Scotland.”

The same *Gazette* also notified that the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom had been conferred upon Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, G.C.B., chief commissioner, and agent to the governor-general of India for the affairs of the Punjab, and his heirs male, in recognition of his distinguished services. A pension of £2,000 was conferred upon him by the East India Company, at a special court, held on the 24th of August.

The close of the proceedings in the House of Lords, in connection with the India Bill, was marked by some incidents of peculiar interest, well deserving remark. Before the bill left the house, certain lords and prelates embraced the occasion to deliver themselves of opinions which, taken either as warnings or protests, were not without importance. The Earls of Ellenborough and Shaftesbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, successively addressed themselves with much earnestness to points intimately affecting the future practical administration of the Eastern empire. By those speakers it was solemnly urged, that the policy till then pursued by the Indian government in matters of religion should be essentially modified, and that the sentiments of animosity entertained towards the native population, should

be succeeded, as speedily as possible, by feelings of a more conciliatory and Christian spirit. The solicitude expressed on these points, it was contended, was exceedingly natural; as, upon the future policy of the British government and its representatives in those two respects, the success or failure of the new Indian administration would mainly depend. To this source, opened up by misconception on the score of religious intolerance, it was alleged the origin and motive for the revolt might be correctly ascribed; as, whatever other elements of evil might have entered accidentally into the spirit of the rebellious movement, it was beyond all doubt that the religious policy of the European government had created, and also fed, the antagonism of the native mind; while its administrative system rendered the appeal to physical force practicable. The sepoys, it was said, were exposed to delusions on the subject of Christianity, because they had never been permitted to understand what Christianity really was; and they were enabled to take the field in arms against their rulers, because the latter, in their boundless confidence, had invested them with every attribute and appliance of military power.

As regarded the religious branch of the question, it was contended that the policy of the government admitted of a double interpretation, according to the spirit in which it was practised, or the light in which it was viewed. The “perfect neutrality” professed by the Company, often took the form of positive injustice to their own faith. In their excessive anxiety to keep the native mind at ease, the Indian authorities went any lengths that the credulity or fanaticism of their Hindoo or Mohammedan subjects might think fit to require. Thus anything at which a Hindoo took fright, or might be expected to take fright, was at once forbidden; and it was not merely that the prejudices of those people were inordinately studied, but they were also actually suffered to prescribe terms to their masters, lest the religion of the latter should become offensively demonstrative. They had invested Christianity with a false character, and believed that Christians could make others such, by devices that involved loss of caste. To enlighten them on this subject, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed that, in future, the Bible should be read in all the schools of India to which government aid was contributed—the Bible being the



best proclamation which the Indian government could issue to the people; since all who read it would learn at once that the religion it inculcated could never be propagated by artifice or by violence.

Upon the other point—namely, the revival of confidence between the European and native populations, there were, however, good reasons for doubting the expediency, or even the possibility, of its restoration to the extent that had formerly prevailed. Lord Shaftesbury complained that a strong antipathy had, for some time past, been growing up in India between Europeans and natives. "I fear," observed his lordship, "that it will be long before the confidence which formerly prevailed between them will be again restored. Perhaps half a century may elapse before an Englishman may be able to settle down in security in the interior provinces of India." In those apprehensions there was much reason, but not upon the grounds assumed by the noble lord, who appeared to lay the blame chiefly upon European shoulders; for, in truth, all confidence had been reposed in the people of India, without reserve, qualification, or drawback; the trust in them had been so implicit, that it might justly have been described as resembling infatuation, rather than an exercise of sober reason. To the very last minute the officers who, with their wives and little ones, had been marked out for destruction, believed in the loyalty and attachment of men who thirsted for their blood. In the hands of those treacherous assassins everything was unsuspectingly lodged—everything; even their very lives: and how was this confidence rewarded? Without a particle of justification—with a ferocity only to be compared to that of the untamed brutes of the jungle—those petted, pampered, and trusted servants rose upon their confiding masters, and foully murdered every creature of European lineage within their reach! To say that they were bereft of reason when they so acted, may possibly, to some extent, be correct; but though maniacs and tigers might be exculpated on such a plea, it could scarcely be supposed to justify "confidence" in our future dealings with a people capable of such atrocities. After their most unprovoked revolt, directed against the very existence of European society and government in India—a revolt characterised by unspeakable barbarity; and while it was still, as it were, smouldering under the feet of the survivors of their treachery, it was surely

somewhat unreasonable, on the part of any one, to complain that confidence no longer existed between the native and European races, or to ascribe the natural and justifiable distrust that succeeded to it, to the mere influence of a retributive spirit.

Much time necessarily elapsed before any communication could be received in this country from the governor-general (who was still holding his seat of government temporarily at Allahabad), in reference to the secret despatch of Lord Ellenborough, dated April 19th, 1858:† and, in fact, the reply of Lord Canning did not reach this country until the supreme power so long held by the Court of Directors had passed from their hands. The document transmitted, embraced a lucid exposition of the whole policy of Lord Canning's administration in reference to the war in India; and its introduction to these pages, as a state paper of historical importance, is indispensable. The first despatch, it will be observed, was written previous to the arrival in India of the vote of confidence adopted by the Court of Directors on the 18th of May,† which was intended, if practicable, to have reached the governor-general simultaneously with the Ellenborough despatch; and was as follows:—

*To the Hon. the Secret Committee of the Hon. the Court of Directors.*

"Foreign Department, Secret, Allahabad,  
17th of June, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—I have the honour to reply to your despatch, No. 1,954, of the 19th of April.

"That despatch condemns in the strongest terms the proclamation which, on the 3rd of March, I directed the chief commissioner of Oude to issue from Lucknow.

"2. Although written in the secret committee, the despatch was made public in England three weeks before it reached my hands. It will in a few days be read in every station in Hindostan.

"3. Before the despatch was published in England, it had been announced to parliament by a minister of the crown as conveying disapproval in every sense of the policy indicated by the governor-general's proclamation. Whether this description was an accurate one or not I do not inquire. The telegraph has already carried it over the length and breadth of India.

"4. I need scarcely tell your honourable committee that the existence of such a despatch, even had it never passed out of the records of the secret department, would be deeply mortifying to me, however confident I might feel that your honourable committee would, upon reconsideration, relieve me of the censure which it casts upon me. Still less necessary is it for me to point out that the publication of the document, preceded as it has been by an authoritative declaration of its meaning and spirit,

\* See *ante*, p. 479.

† *Ibid.*, p. 484.



is calculated greatly to increase the difficulties in which the government of India is placed, not only by weakening the authority of the governor-general, but by encouraging resistance and delusive hopes in many classes of the population of Oude.

"5. So far as the despatch and the mode in which it has been dealt with affect myself personally, I will trouble your honourable committee with very few words.

"No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty. I believe that a change in the head of the government of India at this time, if it took place under the circumstances which indicated a repudiation on the part of the government in England of the policy which has hitherto been pursued towards the rebels of Oude, would seriously retard the pacification of the country. I believe that that policy has been from the beginning merciful without weakness, and indulgent without compromise of the dignity of the government. I believe that wherever the authority of the government has been established, it has become manifest to the people in Oude, as elsewhere, that the indulgence to those who make submission, and who are free from atrocious crime, will be large. I believe that the issue of the proclamation which has been so severely condemned was thoroughly consistent with that policy, and that it is so viewed by those to whom it is addressed. I believe that that policy, if steadily pursued, offers the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oude upon a stable footing.

"6. Firm in these convictions, I will not in a time of unexampled difficulty, danger, and toil, lay down of my own act the high trust which I have the honour to hold; but I will, with the permission of your honourable committee, state the grounds upon which those convictions rest, and describe the course of policy which I have pursued in dealing with the rebellion in Oude. If, when I have done so, it shall be deemed that that policy has been erroneous, or that, not being erroneous, it has been feebly and ineffectually carried out, or that, for any reason the confidence of those who are responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England should be withheld from me, I make it my respectful but urgent request, through your honourable committee, that I may be relieved of the office of governor-general of India with the least possible delay.

"7. I desire to say, that I shall in that case resign my great charge into the hands of the Hon. Court of Directors, with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the generous support, the unreserved confidence, and the considerate courtesy which I have at all times received from them.

"I have nothing more to add upon the personal part of this question.

"8. But, before I speak of the proclamation, I beg to call the attention of your honourable committee to certain paragraphs of the despatch before me, which are pregnant with a signification far more momentous than the censure of any recent act or policy of the governor-general of the day. These paragraphs are numbered from 10 to 14 inclusive, and I believe that I shall not misrepresent their import by describing it as follows:—

"9. They begin by pointing out a doubt whether the British government was justified in taking possession of the kingdom of Oude. The doubt is pointed out, but is not resolved, nor is a distinct opinion expressed upon it.

"10. Certain facts are then referred to, which, though they do not directly affect the question of our right to take possession of Oude are cited as leading, in conjunction with the doubt above mentioned, to the conclusion, that the hostilities which the people of Oude have been carrying on against us have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should be regarded with indulgent consideration.

"11. It is altogether beyond my duty to discuss whether the course pursued by the British government in taking possession of Oude was a lawful and justifiable one; still less does it belong to me to say what line of conduct the British government ought to follow if it be now determined that that course was not lawful or justifiable. But as to the indulgence due to the people of Oude, your honourable committee will, I am sure, do me the justice to admit that no misgiving as to the character of our dealings with the Oude state was necessary to induce me to declare, without any injunction from yourselves, that the talookdars and landholders of Oude must be viewed in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. I found sufficient reason for this in the facts that the allegiance of these men, when they broke into rebellion, was little more than a year old, and that they had become British subjects by no act of their own; that our rule had brought loss of property upon many of them, and upon some an unjust loss; and that it had diminished the importance and arbitrary power of all. I considered these facts to be a palliation of rebellion, even where hostility to us had been most inveterate; and therefore I put aside altogether the punishments of death, transportation, and imprisonment; and while marking those who had rebelled with the penalty which in India, as elsewhere, has been again and again recognised as a fitting punishment of rebels—namely, the forfeiture of their rights in the soil—I promised indulgence to those who should make prompt submission.

"I felt that considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribed this course. I recorded this in a paper already in the hands of your honourable committee; and I hope, before closing this despatch, to show that the indulgence has been accorded promptly and liberally.

"12. But it is my first duty earnestly to beg your honourable committee to consider the effect which will be produced upon the province of Oude when it shall become generally known that the British government speaks hesitatingly of its right to rule that country. I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the government, of which many bad spirits will not be slow to avail themselves now and hereafter.

"13. But more especially do I fear its immediate effect. It cannot have escaped the notice of your honourable committee, that, although the rising against our authority in Oude has been general—almost universal—it has been singularly devoid of a national character. Except for the purpose of reducing our garrison in Lucknow, and afterwards of holding the city against us, there appears to have been no common cause among our assailants. Since the capture of Lucknow, we have had against us the party of the begum and her son, claiming to represent the royal family of Oude; the party of

the moulvie, a Mohammedan fanatic; the party of the nazim, an adventurer without rights or property in the province; the sepoy, who have passed from one leader to another, according as they have been able to extort the highest pay; and a number of the talookdars and zemindars, some few of whom, at the head of bands of their own, have plundered and oppressed their enemies and those whom they believed to be our friends; while others, generally of less influence, have been tempted or coerced into joining the ranks of the hegum or the moulvie.

"There is little concert or cohesion between any of these parties. Indeed, between those of the hegum and the moulvie there has been not only complete separation, but open hostility.

"14. I cannot think that this want of unity will long continue, if it shall once become manifest that the British government hesitates to declare its right to possess Oude, and that it regards itself as a wrongful intruder into the place of the dynasty which the hegum claims to represent. I believe that this would draw to the side of the hegum many who have hitherto shown no sympathy with the late ruling family, and that it is just what is wanting to give a national character to her cause.

"15. An uncompromising assertion of our authority in Oude is perfectly compatible with a merciful exercise of it; and I respectfully submit, that if the government of India is not supported in making this assertion, and in declaring that the recent acts of the people of Oude are acts of rebellion, and that they may in strict right be treated as such, a powerful temptation will be offered to them to maintain their present struggle or to renew it.

"16. I now proceed to offer some remarks upon the proclamation, and I believe that the spirit in which the proclamation was conceived and has been acted upon, will be best shown by the following statement:—

"17. When, in January last, about the time at which the army of the commander-in-chief began to concentrate upon Lucknow, I left Calcutta for Allahabad, one of my chief motives for doing so was the obtaining full, accurate, and recent information in regard to the temper and disposition of the chiefs and people of Oude; the extent to which they felt themselves aggrieved by the government; how far that feeling was just; the nature of the influences at work among them; and other points requiring consideration before a decision could be taken as to the mode of dealing with the province. These were matters upon which formal references and reports would have thrown very tardy and inadequate light, seeing the condition to which our archives and official establishments had been reduced; and, therefore, in addition to the information received by government from the usual civil and military sources, I sought information and opinions from those who, from having filled posts within the province or upon its frontiers, had had opportunities of becoming personally and, in some cases, intimately acquainted with the talookdars and zemindars, and their followers.

"18. The conclusions at which I arrived were, firstly, that all question of punishing with death, or even with transportation or imprisonment, rebels who, however inveterate and unceasing their hostility had been, were free from the stain of murder, should be set aside. I need not at present defend this decision, although at the time it was very far from meeting with general approval.

"19. Secondly, that the one declared punishment for rebellion should be the confiscation to the state of proprietary rights in the soil.

"I have already said, that this is a punishment which has been repeatedly enforced against rebels in India, as well by native rulers as by the British government. It is one which admits of being easily tempered and relaxed with more or less of lenity, according as considerations of policy or mercy, and the past or future conduct of the persons to be punished, may prescribe. It in no way affects the honour of the most sensitive Rajpoot or Brahmin. It would provide the government with the means of rewarding, in the manner which is most acceptable to the natives of India, the services of those who should be found to deserve reward. It would tend to the final settlement of many of those disputes respecting landed rights, which have been the source of so much strife and animosity in Oude.

"20. Finally, I came to the conclusion, that if a proclamation were issued on the capture of Lucknow (a point upon which I entertained doubts up to the last moment), it should be one not threatening confiscation as a possible contingency, but declaring it, pointing out, however, the means by which relaxation and indulgence might be obtainable; and, further, that no attempt should be made to indicate the measure of relaxation and indulgence which might be conceded in particular cases.

"21. I will offer a few words in explanation of these last points.

"I believe that the issue of proclamations is not the surest or safest mode of influencing the natives of India. The experience of the past year has furnished examples of the ingenuity with which the meaning of such documents can be perverted, or their language misrepresented by the enemies of the state; and it is a fact, several instances of which have come to my knowledge of late, that the word of an English officer of the government, even though a stranger, is more trusted than a printed paper. I should therefore have preferred to take, in Oude, the course which was afterwards taken in Rohilcund, and to place instructions in the hands of the officers attached to the columns which marched through the country, leaving it to them to carry out those instructions, and to explain in each district through which they passed, the spirit in which the government desired to deal with the people. But I knew it to be very probable that no columns would be available for the purpose in Oude, and that in that case, much time might elapse before English officers would be able to penetrate the province. I therefore had recourse to a proclamation which might be disseminated by native agency.

"22. That proclamation was made to declare the confiscation, and not to threaten it, because the natives of India, while they attach much weight to a distinct and actual order of the government, attach very little to a vague threat, whether conveyed by proclamation or otherwise; while it might safely be assumed, that the spirit in which the clause treating of indulgence would be acted upon in the districts which should be recovered, would gradually become known throughout the province, and have conciliatory effect.

"Precaution was taken against perversion and mistranslation by publishing in the first instance none but vernacular versions of the proclamation.

"23. I have said that the proclamation should not attempt to point out the different measures of



indulgence which would be conceded in different cases. This and some other preceding observations will be best explained by a brief reference to the recent condition of the talookdars and other landholders, as regards their rights in the soil.

"24. When we assumed the government of Oude, in 1856 the greater part of the province was held by talookdars, who represented its aristocracy. They have been called the 'barons of Oude;' but this term, applied to them as a class, is misleading. Some had received titles from the kings of Oude, for services rendered, or by court favour. Some few are the representatives of ancient families, but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service, or connexion with the soil; who, having held office under the native government as nazims (*i.e.*, governors), or chuckledars (*i.e.*, collectors of government rents), or having farmed the revenue of extensive tracts, had taken advantage of the weakness of the native government and its indifference to all considerations of justice so long as it received revenue; had abused the authority confided to them by that government; and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes extorted by violence, sometimes obtained by fraud, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages, which formed what they called their talookdars, or estates.

"25. Owing to the ascendancy which the men of this class acquired, the weakness of the native government, the venality of the courts, and the absence of justice, the condition of the actual occupants of the soil of the province was one of unparalleled depression. Their rights had ceased to exist, or were reduced to a mere shadow; they could get no protection from the government; they were completely in the power of the talookdars, and were subject to every kind of oppression, tyranny, and exaction. In numberless instances they were compelled by the talookdars to execute deeds of sale, alienating whatever proprietary right they nominally possessed; and they lost but little by the act, for the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known.

"26. Such being the condition of things in Oude, the government of India, perhaps with more of chivalrous justice than political prudence, determined at once to reinstate these proprietary occupants of the soil in what were believed to be their hereditary rights, and to restore the ancient village communities; and upon the annexation of the country the chief commissioner was instructed to make the settlement of the land revenue with the proprietary occupants of the soil, to the exclusion of middlemen. This instruction was carried into execution in some districts with undue haste, harshly, and upon insufficient evidence; and where this took place injustice was done to the talookdars, some of whom were deprived of villages which had long been attached to their talookas, and their titles to which were not satisfactorily disproved.

"The injustice might, and probably would, have been corrected in making the revised settlement; but this does not excuse or palliate the wrong.

"27. The mutinies broke out. It might have been expected, that when insurrection first arose in Oude, and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants who had been so highly favoured by the British government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have

come forward in support of the government who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the government which had befriended him. The village occupants, as a body, relapsed into their former subjection to the talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful suzerain, and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British government. The endeavour to neutralise the usurped and largely abused power of the talookdars by recognising the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self-interest and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly.

"28. The time arrived when it became necessary to consider how the province should be dealt with upon the re-establishment of our power and authority in its capital. On the one hand was the patent fact that those whom we had desired to benefit, and had to our thinking benefited, did not value the rights which we had restored to them; and that, far from standing up in defence of those rights, and in support of the government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the talookdars, and had been no less forward than these latter in their efforts to subvert the authority of that government, and to expel its officers. On the other hand was the no less certain fact that, with but few honourable exceptions, all the talookdars—many who had not suffered in the smallest degree by our fiscal measures, and some who had benefited by them, having been allowed at the settlement to retain all, or nearly all, the villages composing their talookas on reduced assessments—had taken up arms against the British government, had either themselves participated or had sent their retainers to aid in the relentless attacks on the Lucknow residency, had forcibly resumed the occupation of their talookas, and had in many ways manifested their malignant hostility to the British government.

"29. In these circumstances, to have recalled the condition of things which existed immediately before the rebellion, thereby renewing the experiment which had been attempted in 1856, and restoring the occupants of the soil to the position of proprietary landholders, which they had but just proved themselves wholly unfit and unprepared to maintain, would have been to court failure; and, on the other hand, to have reverted to the state of affairs as we found them upon taking possession of the country, and thus to have acknowledged in the talookdars, after they had, as a body, risen in arms against us, and helped to subvert our authority, rights which had been denied, and in most cases justly denied, when our power was unquestioned and unresisted, would have been to concede a victory to rebels and to put a premium on insurrection—a course which would have lowered the character of the government, and destroyed its influence, not only in Oude, but throughout India.

"30. Regard being had to the history of tenures in Oude, to the failure of the efforts made by the government in 1856 to set up those who were believed to be the hereditary proprietors of the soil, to their unworthy reception of the benefits bestowed upon them, to the rebellious spirit manifested by nearly all the talookdars of the province, and to the inconceivable difficulties which would



have attended the adjudication of claims to proprietary right in the circumstances that have been briefly described, and which would have hampered the administration at every turn, the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course seemed to be, to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining, for all classes, as such, had sinned equally) confiscated, and to reserve to the government the right of hereafter disposing of it as might seem fitting, at the same time notifying the intention of the government to show indulgence to those who should tender immediate submission and throw themselves upon its mercy.

"31. I apprehended little difficulty, and, so far as experience has gone, little has, I believe, been found, in explaining to the talookdars and landowners with whom our officers have come in contact, that the 'confiscation' does not necessarily operate as a permanent deprivation of their rights, but that it places in the hands of the government the power of punishing those who shall still persist in rebellion after life and honour have been guaranteed to them, of rewarding those who shall promptly come forward and give their support to the government and to the cause of order, of substituting in every case of restoration the undeniable title derived from the will of the government, for the doubtful title which alone could be advanced by the majority of those whom the order affected, and of attaching to the fiat of restoration such conditions of service (political and military), fealty, and good conduct, as the altered circumstances of the province have made essential to the firm establishment of our authority.

"32. I have now stated the considerations which led me to frame the proclamation in the form in which it was transmitted to you.

"33. It was sent to Lucknow on the 3rd of March, and on the 10th I received from the chief commissioner, Major-general Sir James Outram, a letter urging a reconsideration of the terms of the proclamation, mainly on the ground that it would render hopeless the attempt to enlist the talookdars on the side of order, and would drive them to a desperate resistance; and recommending that such landholders and chiefs as had not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans, should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as would protect their dependents from oppression.

"34. This letter, and the replies to it, including the additional paragraph which Sir James Outram's opinion of the light in which the talookdars and the chiefs would view the proclamation induced me to add thereto, are before your honourable committee.

"35. I will not trouble your honourable committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion; but lest your honourable committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state, that the unfavourable view taken by that distinguished officer of the substance of the proclamation, was a cause of much disappointment to me.

"36. A very few weeks previously the chief commissioner had sent to the government of India an able and elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memorandum, dated the 15th of January, 1858, are the following passages:—

"The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude.

"These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of returning tranquillity, except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talookdaree system. \* \* \* Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value."

"37. Subject to the understanding that even to those who had been most active against us indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission, these opinions accorded exactly with my own; and although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the chief commissioner's letter of the 8th of March could occur between us. The belief therein expressed, that there are not a dozen landholders in the province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part.

"38. I afterwards had occasion to send my military secretary, Colonel Stuart, to head-quarters, and I took the opportunity to explain to the chief commissioner that I wished him to give the most liberal interpretation to the proclamation; that, for instance, the proclamation left it free to notify to any talookdar who was deserving of consideration, that if he made submission and supported the government, the confiscation of his lands would not take effect, and that his claims to property of which he might have been deprived upon the annexation of the province would be reheard; and that in the case of these having been resumed by him, he might retain them till the rehearing.

"39. On the 3rd of April, Major-general Sir James Outram being about to take his seat in council at Calcutta, Mr. Montgomery succeeded to the chief commissionership of Oude.

"40. Mr. Montgomery had, at my request, done me the favour of visiting Allahabad before going to Lucknow, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating unreservedly with him upon the discharge of his new duties.

"I impressed upon the new chief commissioner my wish that his dealings with the chief rebels should be as conciliatory as might be consistent with the dignity of the government, and that he should treat liberally and generously all those who tendered their allegiance and gave support to his authority. Mr. Montgomery expressed his intention to take this matter into his own personal management.

"41. On the 20th of April the chief commissioner wrote to me, in an unofficial letter, as follows:—

"I enclose a memorandum just given me by Captain Barrow, which will show your lordship the names of talookdars who have attended in person or by vakeel. Generally speaking, indeed invariably,

the feeling shown by the men who come in is excellent. They express great sorrow at the past, and seem grateful for the consideration shown to them.'

"A copy of the memorandum is enclosed.

"It contains the names of twenty-six chiefs of note and influence, in various quarters, some of them at a great distance from Lucknow, who had either openly tendered their allegiance to the government or had taken the first steps towards doing so. So far as I am aware, only one of these has swerved from his first intention.

"At the date of this memorandum, little more than a month had elapsed since the first appearance of the proclamation in Lucknow.

"42. On the 22nd of May, the chief commissioner sent me a further memorandum from Captain Barrow, which is also under this cover.

"It describes the progress made and the state of feeling prevalent.

"It is right, however, that I should observe, that of the three powerful talookdars named in this memorandum, one only (Maun Sing) has sided with us actively. Of the other two, one (Madhoo Sing) is inactive, and the other (Beni Madho) is in arms against us.

"43. From this last date the chief commissioner has furnished weekly reports, which have been forwarded to your honourable committee in regular course.

"44. Latterly these have become less favourable. The rebels, under the leadership in some cases of talookdars, have approached nearer to Lucknow, have threatened, and in some places destroyed, the civil stations which we had established, and have killed some of the native guards. But I am not, neither is the chief commissioner of Oude, disheartened by a temporary check in the progress which had been rapidly achieved.

"In a letter received from Mr. Montgomery as I am writing, that gentleman says:—

"I had settled some 6,000 villages, and everything was progressing most favourably, when a combination of circumstances prevented the progress of the settlement.'

"But he adds:—

"I still say that the mass of the people are well inclined to us. I get secret letters and messages; but they dare not come forward in the face of the armed bodies which are hostile to us.'

"45. In an earlier part of this despatch I had occasion to speak of these bodies, which, although without cohesion and combination, are none the less capable of intimidating and persecuting those whom they believe to be well-disposed towards the government. They have latterly been greatly aided in this by the influx of fugitives from Rohilcund and Calpee, who have either joined them or set up as independent marauders.

"46. I never expected it to be otherwise. I never expected that, with the capture and occupation of Lucknow, the province would become submissive; and my anticipation of the contrary is recorded in the letter which, on the 16th of January, the governor-general in council addressed to the commander-in-chief, recommending that his excellency's operations should, notwithstanding, be directed against Lucknow. Those operations were carried out with a skill, bravery, and success which have won the admiration of the world. But it is no disparagement of the work of the great soldier who

achieved that success, to say that the chastisement thereby inflicted upon the loose bands of mutineers, rebels, and plunderers, who were collected in and about the city, was not such as to expel them from the limits of the province, or to deter them from persevering in their work of murder and pillage in other districts of it.

"47. It is not in reason that, what with the pressure of the mutinous sepoys, now congregated in various parts of the province on the one hand, and the arts and threats of desperate adventurers acting as leaders on the other, violence and rebellion should not be kept alive, and that those who are well inclined to make their peace with the government should not thereby be deterred from doing so.

"48. No man is better acquainted with the eastern districts of Oude and their inhabitants than Mr. Wingfield, who is at present acting on that frontier of the province as special commissioner of Goruckpore. Writing on the 6th of June, Mr. Wingfield says:—

"Unsupported by the presence of British troops, there are many talookdars who, to my certain knowledge, are deterred from tendering their allegiance, which is their sincere wish. Had the garrison of Lucknow only been distributed about the province, three-fourths of the talookdars would, under the promises held out by the proclamation, have been entirely on our side by this time.'

"Unfortunately, the garrison of Lucknow could not be spared, nor any body of troops at all approaching it in strength.

"49. But when the season shall arrive at which the troops can again move rapidly over the country, when the large police force now being raised by the chief commissioner at Lucknow shall have reached its complement and received further organisation, and when it shall be manifest that we have the means of protecting or supporting those who return to their allegiance, I cannot doubt that the spirit in which the proclamation has been accepted in many quarters will declare itself generally throughout the province.

"50. I have now described to your honourable committee the whole course of my proceedings with regard to the proclamation of the 15th of March. I have at the same time explained the policy which has guided me, and I have informed you generally of its results.

"I respectfully await your judgment.

"I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, honourable sirs, your most faithful, humble servant,

"Allahabad, June 17th.

CANNING."

The second despatch, forwarded by Lord Canning on receipt of the resolution declaring the confidence of the Court of Directors in his administration, was as follows:—

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

"Foreign Department, Allahabad, July 4th, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—Your despatch, No. 20, of the 18th of May, reached me two days ago.

"I beg your honourable court to accept my warmest thanks for the assurance of your continued confidence which that despatch, and the resolution of your honourable court embodied in it, convey.



"2. Such an expression of the sentiments of your honourable court would be to me a source of gratification and just pride in any circumstances; but the generous and timely promptitude with which you have been pleased to issue it, and the fact that it conveys approval of the past, as well as trust for the future, has greatly enhanced its value. Your honourable court have rightly judged, that in the midst of difficult ties, no support is so cheering to a public servant, or so strengthening, as that which is derived from a declared approval of the spirit by which his past acts have been guided.

"3. I believe that the expectations expressed by your honourable court as to the spirit in which the proclaimed confiscation of proprietary rights in Oude would be used will not be disappointed, when you shall have had cognizance of the despatch which I had the honour to address to the secret committee on the 17th ult., and which, as being the sequel of correspondence already in the hands of your honourable court, will no doubt have been laid before you.

"4. Your honourable court observe, that I must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it which you trust was speedily afforded by the actions of the government, must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy.

"Undoubtedly this is so. But it was not without deliberation that, in framing the proclamation, I used the positive, peremptory, and, so to speak, enacting words which declare that the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may deem fitting.

"5. As this point was scarcely touched upon in my above-mentioned despatch to the secret committee, I will take leave to add a further brief explanation upon it. I have said that it is in the nature of those to whom the proclamation was addressed to care very little for the threats, but to have a great respect for the distinct orders of superior authority. A rebel landholder, to whom no more should be said than that if he did not make submission soon his rights would be liable to confiscation, would be likely to trust for his escape to the chapter of accidents, and to the chance of avoiding or defeating criminatory evidence, and so to delay submission and cling to the cause of those whose immediate influence might be nearest and strongest. Whereas, if he should be made to feel that the withdrawal of his rights is already decreed, that it only remains for the executive officers to give effect to it by placing another proprietor in possession, and that the best hope left to him is to work out as large a claim to proffered indulgence as possible while there is yet time, his manifestation of allegiance would assuredly be quickened.

"6. It was my business to consider what would most stimulate and hasten a return to peace and loyalty on the part of those addressed; and I was of opinion that this would best be done by making it clear and plain that the rewards actually conferred for fidelity were very large; that the punishment actually decreed for rebellion was very heavy, but that from this punishment a door of escape was still open.

"7. To attempt to define more precisely the conditions and degrees according to which indulgence should be awarded and punishment tempered, appeared to me most inexpedient. It would, I submit, have been impossible to put into the proclamation any mitigating or conciliatory words to this effect without incurring the greatest risk of raising false hopes and giving ground for mistaken claims, the disappointment of which hereafter would have gone far to confirm in the minds of many the reproach which the rebel leaders have sedulously thrown out against the English government of a want of good faith, a reproach to which no colour or shadow of truth shall ever be given by any act of mine.

"8. I therefore left the way of escape and the amount of obtainable indulgence to be learned from the treatment which those who should first come in would receive. No explanation in words would have been so certain to spread through the country with little chance of perversion as this. No other course would have left the government so free to use wise discrimination in the remission of punishment.

"9. Your honourable court will of course bear in mind that the proclamation was addressed to a province in arms, throughout which we had not at that time a surviving friend or interest to defend, and that therefore any fear of danger from an outburst of resistance by which matters should be made worse was imaginary.

"10. Upon a careful and, I hope, dispassionate review of the whole subject, I cannot but think that the words in which the proclamation was couched were those most befitting the government of India in its relations with its rebellious province, and best calculated to effect eventually a real and sure pacification. But the question was one of very great difficulty; and I entreat your honourable court not to suppose that I am so presumptuous as to deprecate criticism of the mode in which the difficulty was met.

"11. The reports lately received from Lucknow, and dispatched to your honourable court by this and by the preceding mail, show that one of the chief commissioner's greatest embarrassments is the want of sufficient means to protect the landholders, who are eager to tender their allegiance, but whom we cannot in some places effectually defend until the bands of the more desperate rebels and mutineers which still harass the province shall have been subdued and destroyed, an object which can be attained only by moving the troops through the country at a suitable season. Accordingly, in the cases of many who have declared their desire to make submission, Mr. Montgomery has found it necessary to advise them to remain passive for the present.

"12. The delay is to be regretted; but the fact furnishes proof that the spirit of the proclamation has not been misunderstood, and that the temper of the province is gradually tending towards order and allegiance.

"I have, &c.

CANNING."

It has already been observed, that before these despatches reached England, the sovereignty of the East India Company had passed away, and was numbered among the things which *had been*.

On the 9th of August, the Court of



Directors, in exercise of the privilege accorded to it by the 8th section of the act by which their territorial and political existence was brought to a close, elected seven of their members—namely, Sir James Weir Hogg, Charles Mills, John Shepherd, Elliot Macnaghten, Ross Donnelly Mangles, William Joseph Eastwick, and Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esqrs., to be members of the first council for India—the remaining eight seats at the council-table being nominees of the crown. On Thursday, September 2nd, the last official meeting of the Court of Directors was held at its house in Leadenhall-street, its final act being an expression of recognition of the faithful services of its officers and dependents. This duty performed, the court was formally dissolved; and, as the clocks of the metropolis struck the hour of noon, the once imperial potency of the East India Company became a tradition of the past.

On the following day (Friday, September 3rd), the Indian council, incorporated under the act of 21st and 22nd Victoria, assembled for the first time at the India House, in Leadenhall-street, in the chamber wherein, for many years, the Court of Directors had been accustomed to hold their councils. Shortly after two o'clock, Lord Stanley, secretary of state for India, and president of the council, took his seat, and announced, in the first place, the names of the eight members whom her majesty had been pleased to nominate to the council of India—viz., Sir John L. M. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B.\*; Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; Sir Henry C. Montgomery, Bart.; Major-general Sir Robert J. Vivian, K.C.B.; Colonel Sir Proby T. Cautley, K.C.B.; Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.; and John P. Willoughby, and William Arbuthnot, Esqrs. The remainder of the initiatory sitting was chiefly occupied in arranging the order of future proceedings, the division of the council into committees for the more convenient and effectual transaction of business, and the nomination of a vice-president; for which office Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., the late chairman of the East India Company, was selected. The council was required, by the act of incorporation, to meet at least weekly. According to a provision in the act, the secretaries and other officers and servants on the home establishment of the Company in

Leadenhall-street, and on that of the commissioners for the affairs in India, in Cannon-row, immediately before the commencement of the act, were, in the first instance, to form the establishment of the secretary of state in council; who was empowered, with all convenient speed, to make such arrangements and reductions in the two establishments as should seem to him consistent with the due discharge of the public business. Carrying out the directions of the statute in that respect, Sir J. C. Melvill and Mr. Leach—the former acting in the interest of the establishment in Leadenhall-street, and the latter in that of the Board of Control—had, by the direction of the secretary of state for India, prepared a scheme for the consolidation of the two establishments, and a scale of retiring pensions for the officials in the several departments, whose services were no longer required under the new state of things, or who might wish to retire—reference being had in every case to length of service. The scheme recommended, that the period of service entitling the Company's servants to retire on full pay, should be reduced from fifty to forty-five years; and that three-fourths of the salary should be allowed after thirty years' service, and two-thirds after twenty years.

And thus ends a chapter in the world's history, which will remain a record of one of the most remarkable transitions from the very apex of human power, to a condition of comparative obscurity, that the world has ever produced in its wildest mutations. The East India Company, which for nearly two centuries had been growing until it reached imperial dimensions, had now peaceably, and almost without a murmur, put off its greatness, and, in its political character, descended to the tomb. As its career was without a parallel, so its fate was without a precedent. Only once in history has an empire been acquired by men who, at home, were without authority: only once has an imperial power, successful against all external foes, and victorious over all internal treason, been destroyed by a constitutional decree. It is not wonderful that a power so great, so magnificent, and yet so accessible to the voice of reason, should disappear amidst the plaudits of mankind, or that the very parliament by which it was sentenced to die, should gracefully and admiringly strew flowers on its grave.

\* Sir John Lawrence had not yet arrived in England.

## CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION; CONDITION OF THE REBEL FORCES; ATTACK ON POWRIE; NANA SAHIB; MEETING OF ZEMINDARS AT RAHIMABAD; DEFEAT OF INSURGENTS AT SELIMPORE; APPROACH OF THE COLD SEASON; PROBABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; STRENGTH OF THE CONFEDERATED TROOPS; OFFICIAL MEMORANDA; DEPARTURE OF THE HEAD-QUARTERS' DIVISION FROM ALLAHABAD; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; TANTIA TOPEE, AND THE NAWAB OF BANDA; THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA PROCLAIMED; CEREMONIALS OBSERVED AT CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, ETC.; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES; OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN PRESS; LAST ACT OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA.

THE successful operations of the British troops against the rebellious armies of Hindostan, have already been traced, in the progress of this work, up to the commencement of the rainy season of 1858. We have now, therefore, to resume and continue the details of further triumphs over the numerous and isolated bands of insurgents, by whom many of the fairest provinces of India were still ravaged and devastated.

At the end of June, the state of matters, as connected with the revolt, was as follows. The enemy in Rohilcund was powerless: the queen of Oude's army, dispirited by continuous defeat and by harassing flight, felt that it had but a few more months of respite before its annihilation: the talookdars of Oude, generally, had been either terrified into submission, or were anxiously awaiting the appearance of a British force to deliver them from the oppression of the insurgent troops: Allahabad and Azimgurh, with the surrounding districts, were slowly settling down to a state of renewed submission: the Gwalior contingent had been finally crushed; and, notwithstanding some treasonable attempts, by emissaries of the Nana, to tamper with the troops of the maharajah (but which, fortunately, were discovered and punished), Scindia was firmly seated in his hereditary states. In Oude, and in the direction of the Punjab, apprehensions of boding mischief were entertained; but, in the latter province, it was in connection with the Sikh levies of 75,000 men, raised by Sir John Lawrence to aid in suppressing the sepoy rebellion, that the cause for disquietude arose—a doubt having been raised, upon grounds that do not appear to have been substantiated, that the hardy warriors by whose aid so much had been accomplished, might think fit to consider that they had reconquered India for themselves, and not for the Europeans. However this might be as to probability, it was deemed necessary by the authorities, to

occupy the districts recovered by them more completely with European troops, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the Sikhs, who were intermingled in detachments with the British garrisons, and, whether justly or not, were now regarded with suspicion.

In Central India, the Gwalior rebels, under Tantia Topee and the Banda nawab, had, on the 26th of August, surrounded the town of Jhalra Patun, and taken possession of it after a feeble resistance, most of the troops of the nawab joining them. They levied heavy contributions on the town, and took possession of all the treasure, guns, and munitions of war belonging to the chief of the district, and then marched, with twenty-four guns, in the direction of Rampore. General Michel, with the Mhow field force, went in pursuit, and, on the 15th of September, came up with the enemy, whom he attacked and defeated near Heore, with the loss of most of their guns. On the 5th of the same month, Colonel Roberts, with 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, also totally defeated a body of rebels between Gwalior and Goojerah; 450 dead bodies being left on the field. The British loss consisted of one officer, of H.M.'s 9th regiment, killed; four officers wounded; and four rank and file killed, and ten wounded.

Numerous opportunities occurred during the interval between the close of the hot, and the return of the cold season, for exhibiting the superiority of the European and loyal native troops over the rebellious forces, under their various leaders. Among other instances, a spirited affair may be noticed, which took place at Powrie—a fortified town a few miles west of Gwalior, into which a rebellious chief, named Man Sing, had thrown himself, and became troublesome by presenting a focus for the concentration of the insurrectionary spirit of the surrounding districts. To put an end to his capability for mischief, a brigade, under Colonel Smith, was dispatched, to compel



him to retire from his position; and, as he refused to listen to any terms of pacific arrangement, nothing remained but to enforce his surrender. Some heavy guns, accompanied by a reinforcement under Brigadier-general Napier, were consequently sent for from Gwalior; but this accession to Smith's force, which already consisted of 100 men of her majesty's 86th regiment, 200 of the 25th Bombay native infantry, and some irregular cavalry, artillery, and engineers, although it made the force before Powrie of imposing dimensions, was still inadequate to surround the place: and thus, while on one side batteries were erected; on the other, a difficult piece of ground, intersected by deep ravines and covered with thick jungle, remained available for the retreat of the enemy when they chose to avail themselves of the facility. On the 20th of August the whole force took up a concentrated position near the fort; mortars were placed in position, and a vigorous shelling was kept up on the works. A breaching battery was likewise commenced within 300 yards of the walls—the 95th, with their Enfields, keeping up a galling fire, at 400 yards, on the besieged wherever they showed themselves. The enemy replied actively with musketry and round shot; and Captain Fisher, of the 95th, was shot through the body, but not mortally. The breaching battery was complete on the morning of the 22nd, but became useless; for, in the night, the rebels had fled through the ravines and jungle, taking with them two guns. Colonel Smith's brigade started in pursuit immediately it was known that the rebels had fled south-west to Rajghur, half-way between Indore and Powrie. After a march of twenty-two miles through thick jungle during the day, the force came up with the enemy's camp, which had just been evacuated. The retreat had been so precipitate that the two guns were abandoned, and were found by Colonel Smith in a tank. The force, unable to follow the fugitives through an almost trackless jungle, returned to Powrie on the 23rd. General Napier, however, desirous of catching some of the rebels, sent out another force, comprising part of the 10th and 25th Bombay native infantry, 200 European infantry of the 86th and 95th, and four field guns, part of Mead's troop. These left Powrie by forced marches on the 27th of August; previous to which, all the fort guns, seventeen in number, were destroyed, and part of the

strongest side of the works was dismantled and blown up; and so rested the campaign in that part of Central India.

There were expeditions, also, from Jhansie, in the direction of Goona, which were attended with a considerable amount of success. Towards the end of August, two columns were sent out from the scene of Sir Hugh Rose's triumphs—one of them to Mynapore. This column consisted of detachments from the 3rd Europeans and 4th Bombay native infantry, with two guns of the Bhopaul contingent, and fifty 3rd light cavalry, under Captain Montrevir, of the 24th Bombay native infantry. The force was divided; and the 24th, with the cavalry, had the good fortune to fall in with the enemy, and kill a number of them near Mynapore, before the others came up. The second column went out westward, towards Goona, under the command of Colonel Liddell, but had no opportunity of meeting with the enemy.

In Oude, the hunt after rebels was equally vigorous. Sir Hope Grant, having relieved Fyzabad on the 6th of August, marched to Sultanpore, where lay 18,000 of the enemy, under Bainie Madhoo and other chiefs. He occupied the right portion or cantonment without opposition, and subsequently crossed the Goomtee, driving the main body of rebels up the country to the north-east; whilst some descended the stream, and threatened to cross into Shahabad and Behar. Several steamers, however, were sent from Dinapore up to Bulleah, to stop the passage of the Ganges; and all boats that could be found were destroyed.

The rebels, thus ousted from Fyzabad and Sultanpore, appeared to have scattered themselves over the country; large bodies of them finding their way into Shahabad and Behar, in which provinces the restoration of order seemed to be a work beyond the combined powers of the governor-general and commander-in-chief. The rebels, unencumbered with baggage, and assisted and encouraged everywhere by the people, easily eluded the troops, who wore out their strength in fruitless marches. Koer Sing's nephew, again in his home at Jugdespore, was at the same time fortifying it, and collecting men and ammunition with marvellous success. The project of levelling the formidable jungle had been abandoned, and, consequently, a secure retreat was ever ready for the marauders. It was now thought that the plau of the ensuing campaign



would be to invade Oude with numerous small, compact columns, who might take in detail the numerous forts scattered over the country, which might not be a difficult task; for the natives had imbibed a wholesome dread of those small forts, knowing that, once surrounded, they were sure to be taken, and all the defenders bayoneted. Nor was it likely that Sir Colin would meet a large rebel army in the field. He might probably have to engage in a guerilla warfare, which, though terribly harassing to European troops, would not prevent the country from being occupied by numerous and strong posts, and then its pacification must depend upon the completeness of the disarming process. There was at this time little doubt that the Hindoo population of Oude, with the exception of the sepoys, was tired of anarchy, and would gladly purchase peace at any price. The leaders, however, distrusted all promises, and cautiously offered their submission in writing. The Mussulmans of course hated the infidels, and would do so to the end of the chapter. Even those that were passively submissive, maintained a dogged, sullen demeanour, and took no pains to conceal their dislike. But they formed the minority of the population, and would, perhaps, at once have yielded, could the Hindoos have been persuaded to surrender.

At the beginning of September, information was received that the Nana had secreted himself about thirteen miles from Dhorghuree, in Oude, in a jungle of bamboos. His companions were stated to be Bala, Raba Bhut, Oodgir, Abba Dhanwoli Dharee, Rannoo Tantia, Gangadhur Tantia, Baboo Khan Kuttay, Shah Ally, Ahmedoola, and Mahomed Ishaq, of Shahjehanpore. The number of his personal adherents had much decreased since the defeat of the insurgents at Kazeegunge; but it was stated that he had still some 2,200 budmashes hanging about him.

A spirited affair occurred near Lucknow, in which Mr. Kavanagh, who had rendered eminent service upon the advance of Sir Colin Campbell to that city in the previous November,\* and, in consequence, had been appointed to the civil charge of the district of Muhiabad, again distinguished himself under the following circumstances:—On the 10th of September, this gentleman, accompanied by Captain Dawson and a body of 550 military police, proceeded to meet an

assemblage of zemindars, who had agreed to collect together at Rahimabad. One of the chief men of the district professed to be anxious to assist the English officer in restoring an influential zemindar among them to his right position, and was, consequently, in communication with the advancing party. The police had scarcely reached half-way to the scene of meeting, when a message was received by Captain Dawson from his friend, announcing that the aspect of affairs had suddenly become serious; the malcontent portion of the gathering having been strongly augmented, and mustering at least 3,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. Undeterred by this information, the police force quietly advanced until within a mile of the town, when the enemy's cavalry was observed manœuvring in front of their line. As the chance of success depended upon prompt and vigorous action, Captain Dawson instantly charged the enemy, who, after a faint show of defence, broke, and fled into the town, from which they were driven street by street. At one corner a gun, placed in a good position, suddenly opened upon the pursuing party; but, as they came near, it was withdrawn. Determined, however, to secure this, the police dashed after it, and, notwithstanding a heavy fire from loopholed walls, succeeded in reaching it as it was being drawn through a fortified gateway, and, cutting down the gunners, took possession of the trophy. The traces of the draught cattle having been cut in the *mêlée*, the animals had taken to flight; and the captors, who were exposed to a terrific fire, were compelled to withdraw it by hand to a position where it could be used with effect upon its late possessors. The principal buildings of the place were by this time in the possession of the police force, with the exception of the gate-house, the massive doors of which were speedily battered down, and the rebels within then surrendered on promise of their lives. In this brilliant little affair, the English had twelve killed and sixteen wounded; while the loss on the side of the enemy, was seventy killed, twenty-six wounded, and twenty-five prisoners. The troops of the professedly friendly chief, who had marched out with the police to assist them, fled the moment the firing commenced, and only reappeared when the victory was secure; and their chief, Burrud Sing, who had given the information in the first instance, did not show himself at all until the troops were in full possession of

\* See *ante*, p. 84.

the place, when he made his salaams, and applied for an escort to protect him. This victory, although a minor affair as compared with the operations of a campaign, was nevertheless important in its influence upon the native mind, since it showed the people of Oude what even raw levies, under English discipline and command, could effect without either guns or cavalry; 550 newly-raised military policemen having driven upwards of 4,000 armed rebels, provided with cavalry and artillery, out of an easily defensible town, where the buildings were loopholed, and almost every house had been converted into a fortress.

A letter from Lucknow, of the 26th of September, gave the following account of a conflict with the rebels at Selimpore, a town about twenty miles from the former city. The writer says—"Since my last, we have had a splendid fight, and killed a very large number of the enemy. On Wednesday, intelligence was received of the approach of a large number of rebels, about 3,000, under Moosahib Ally, in the direction of Gooshaengunj. At nine o'clock that same evening, a force moved out from Lucknow, consisting of portions of H.M.'s 88th and 23rd regiments, police cavalry, and a horse battery. I have not been able to ascertain who took the command. On Thursday morning, the booming of our guns was distinctly audible, and the fire was kept up till about 11 A.M. We were all anxiously looking out for the news of the encounter; for we all made sure that our troops were having a brush with the enemy; but it was not till the following day (Friday) that we became aware of the magnificence of our victory. From the hurried and disjointed accounts which I have yet heard, it appears that our troops came upon the enemy very suddenly on Thursday morning. He had taken possession of a fort on the river side, which, from its position, presented natural obstacles to storming, and was decidedly a good stronghold. Our guns were brought within 400 yards of this fort, and a hot fire opened on the enemy's batteries. Of course this caused much confusion among the Paudies, and some loss also, as we had treated them to shell as well as shot. The infantry were then brought forward; and, with a gallant rush, notwithstanding every obstacle, they carried the place, and then began the work of bayonet and cartridge. Every house within this enclosure was filled with armed

meu, and not a single one was permitted to escape. Our fellows did the work splendidly. It was one series of shooting and bayoneting; and when it is considered that it took nearly three hours to complete the affair, after the storming, we may well suppose the slaughter was immense. Seven hundred of the enemy, at the lowest computation, were killed within the enclosure, besides those who had remained out of the fort, and who, in their flight, were either killed by the cavalry or drowned in the Goomtee. The fort of Selimpore, where the action took place, is about twenty miles from Lucknow, on the way to Gooshaengunj, towards the south-east. This affair will, no doubt, give a proper lesson to those leaders who have lately been disturbing the peace of the Lucknow district; and who will now, I am inclined to think, beat a retreat in the direction of Gonda, or some other trans-Gogra district. Our loss on this occasion was, I hear, very light; four soldiers killed and seven wounded." The writer further says—"The other day, two officers took a rather longer ride than usual into the country, beyond cantonments. They were encountered by two of the enemy's sowars, who had, no doubt, left their picket with the view of reconnoitring. The sowars discharged their carbines at our two heroes, and one of the latter narrowly escaped being killed, as the ball grazed his shoulders. The sowars, seeing that their fire had proved useless, and fearing a return of the compliment, turned round and bolted. The officers gave chase, and at last came up to the scoundrels. They did not polish them off with their revolvers, but took them prisoners, and led them back to Lucknow, where they will be hanged."

At length the month of October arrived; and, with the cold season, indications of movements preparatory to the ensuing campaign, became visible on all sides. The plans of the commander-in-chief, in accordance with his usual habit, were known only to himself, until the moment should arrive for their prudent development; but among the officers of his staff, the campaign was understood as not likely to be on an extended scale. Large bodies of troops, it was assumed, were to be collected at different points, rather to circumscribe the area or operations, than to share in them—the actual work of clearing Oude being entrusted to two columns, which would enter the



province simultaneously from the north and the south. The first, descending from Rohilcund, under Colonel Troup, would clear Mahomdee and Bareitch, driving in the rebels towards Lucknow. The second, commanded by Sir Hope Grant, was to clear Azimgurh and Goruckpore, then infested by powerful gangs of Dacoits; and then, pouring into Gonda, would drive the section of the rebel force which had found shelter there, also towards Lucknow, the garrison of which was to be increased, and strong bodies of troops stationed at Cawnpore, Futtehpore, and other places along the river frontier. By this arrangement, it was considered the rebels would have but one alternative; namely, either to fly to the north-east, and so bury themselves in the Nepaulese Terai, which eventually they did do; or, by forced marches, endeavour to turn Grant's column at Azimgurh, and so escape into Tirhoot. It was, however, expected, that a force then concentrating in Shahabad, and which amounted to about 7,000 men, would, in such case, be ready to advance across the river for the protection of Tirhoot, that district being chiefly in the hands of Europeans, and covered with much valuable property. At all events, very little fighting was anticipated; although, by the best accounts, the enemy had again collected a force of 68,000 men for a last effort. The facility with which the rebel ranks had been, and continued to be recruited, was almost marvellous. But a few weeks previously, Tantia Topce had but 8,000 under his flag. He had since been beaten about a dozen times; and was then actually marching towards Saugor, with a force of 15,000 well-equipped followers! Again, in Shahabad, where, a short time before, Koer Sing had but 5,000 men, new levies had brought the rebel force around Jugdespore up to nearly 24,000; and so, in every direction, armed men seemed to spring from the earth, to make one last but hopeless effort for the independence of their country.

The extreme limit of territory occupied by the British in Oude at the commencement of the final campaign, might be traced on a map of the country, by a line drawn from Sandilah and Daryabad on the north, to Fyzabad on the east, and Sultaupore and Pertabgarh on the south. Between the places named, communications were open; but there was much territory included within the limits, over which the rebels still exercised control; and this inter-

ruption was especially the case between Lucknow and Sultaupore. At Jugdespore, which was almost equi-distant from those cities, the rebels had, as we have seen, gathered in great numbers; as they had also at Amathie, one march to the west of Sultaupore. At Salon, about twenty-five miles west from Amathie, Bainie Madhoo had a numerous army under his command; and the Bareitch districts, with all the country east of the Gogra, were entirely in the enemy's hands, being occupied by the begum, with a force estimated at 6,000 men and twelve guns. Still further in an easterly direction, were the Nana and Bala Rao, with an army of about 13,000. At Mahomdee, one march from the frontier post of Daryabad, was Khan Bahadoor Khan, with about 8,000 men and twelve guns; and numerous smaller parties of rebels occupied the whole country from thence to the frontiers of Nepaul. It was evident, by these details, that the enemy was strong in numbers; but it was also clear, that, by their successive and continuous defeats, they had lost that confidence in their might which constitutes the real strength of armies. It was known and felt that there was not the least chance of these men holding their ground against even the weakest European column that might be opposed to them; and consequently their success depended upon the strategy by which they could elude, rather than encounter, the risks of an engagement.

With a view to prevent any collision between the civil and military authorities during the campaign about to open in Oude, the following memorandum was issued by the chief commissioner of the province:—

*To all Civil Officers in Oude.*

*Memorandum.*—The chief commissioner desires to call the particular attention of all commissioners and civil officers to the following remarks. Military operations in Oude may shortly be expected to commence on an extensive scale. The services of every armed servant of the government will be required to aid in the speedy suppression of the rebellion and maintenance of order. Probably several influential zemindars will in like manner aid with their contingent forces.

"In order that the local government may render the services of all aforementioned really efficient in co-operating with the regular army, it is absolutely necessary that parties should, while the campaign lasts, be under no divided authority. The chief commissioner therefore directs that civil officers will not call on any party who may be nominated to perform a part, however small, in the general military operations of the campaign, to act in any way, or move from one position to another, except by



the desire or with the concurrence of the senior military authority in his district.

"With reference to the military police, the chief commissioner deems it necessary to direct that civil officers do not issue any orders to such of the police as may be serving in their districts, unless the police have been specially placed under their orders for district duties.

"Lucknow, October 8th, 1858."

A proclamation was also issued by the authorities, addressed to the people of Oude, in the following terms:—

"*By direction of the Governor-general in Council.*  
—The chief commissioner of Oude hereby calls upon all talookdars, zemindars, inhabitants, and residents in Oude, of every grade and class, with the exceptions herein enumerated, to deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police-station, within one month from the date of this proclamation, all cannon, fire-arms, swords, bows, arrows, spears, or other description of weapons whatever; also all gunpowder, shot, shell, sulphur, saltpetre, and munitions of war of every kind.

"II. Failing in obedience to this, or whosoever after the period of one month from this date, shall be convicted of wearing or possessing any of the weapons or warlike stores above mentioned, he shall be subjected to the penalty or fine of 5,000 rs., and of imprisonment for one year, with flogging; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands.

"III. In case of the discovery of concealed arms, the owner of which cannot be traced, the like penalties shall be inflicted upon the talookdar or landholder of the place, or on the village community where they may be discovered.

"IV. Further, it is notified that if any talookdar or other inhabitant of Oude, after the issue of an order for the dismantling of his fort, shall in any way attempt to reconstruct the fortification, or shall have in his possession, or shall make preparation for casting or collecting any cannon or munitions of war, his talooka or lands shall be liable to be confiscated, in addition to such other punishments as may be awarded.

"V. Any person giving information which may lead to the discovery of concealed weapons, gunpowder, or munitions of war, shall be entitled to a moiety of the fine, or, if no fine be imposed, to a reward.

"VI. Deputy-commissioners or officers in charge of districts, will be hereafter authorised to grant, under certain rules, licences duly signed and sealed, to carry and possess or make and sell gunpowder and warlike weapons to parties of approved character.

"VII. Such licences shall confer no right to make, sell, or possess cannon of any description, or ammunition for cannon.

"VIII. Any infringement of the licence will be punished by the penalties above specified.

"IX. The classes exempted from the penalties of this proclamation are European British subjects, British soldiers while present with their regiments or on service, and government officials employed on civil duties.

"(Signed) F. D. FORSYTH,  
"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude."

At length, on the 18th of October, 1858, the final campaign, by which the complete subjugation of the discontented millions

that formed the population of Oude was to be effected, commenced by the departure, from Allahabad, of a column consisting of the 1st Belooch battalion, the 1st Punjab cavalry, the 9th Punjab infantry, the Lahore light horse, and the 79th highlanders, with four heavy guns and six field-pieces. This head-quarters' division crossed into Oude by a bridge of boats established at Soraon, near Allahabad, and took a southerly direction towards Sultanpore, upon the Goomtee. In Central India hostilities had now recommenced in earnest, and on the 19th of October, a force, under General Michel, overtook and attacked a strong body of the enemy, commanded by Tantia Topee in person, at Scindwa, a town lying south-east from Chundairee, on the route from Tehree to Oozein. So sudden and unexpected was the attack, that the rebel chief had scarcely time to turn and form line before the English troops were in the midst of his men. The left and centre of General Michel's force were covered by the town of Scindwa, and the line from the right was formed by the 8th hussars, 17th lancers, 1st Bombay lancers, Blake's troop of horse artillery, 3rd Bombay cavalry, Mayne's horse, Bengal 9-pounder battery, her majesty's 92nd, her majesty's 71st, 19th native infantry, with two detachments of the 17th lancers and 3rd Bombay cavalry. The enemy vainly attempted to turn the right wing; and his cavalry made similar attempts upon the left of the cavalry line, but were promptly met by the Bengal battery, with infantry in *echelon*. The hussars and 17th lancers made two brilliant charges; but Tantia Topee could not stand their steady advance, and his troops made an orderly retreat. The cavalry then pressed on; the detachment of Mayne's horse, numbering about seventy sabres, making their first charge into the rear of a body of about 1,000, and killing some twenty in all. The ground being unsuited for cavalry movements, the enemy were permitted to escape almost with impunity. The pursuit extended over nine miles, the enemy having lost four guns and about 500 in killed. The loss to the British force consisted of four killed, four officers and fifteen men wounded, and thirteen missing. After this brilliant affair, some uncertainty arose as to the route of the flying enemy; and General Michel lost time by taking a wrong direction for his pursuit. Having at length obtained intelligence of the actual whereabouts of

the rebel chief, he hastily retraced his steps, and, by a desperate effort, the troops, who had marched sixty-two miles in sixty hours, came up with the rear-guard of Tantia Topee on the 27th of the month, at Korrai, and scattered it to the winds—the rebels, who numbered between two and three thousand, scarcely offering a show of resistance; but, throwing away their arms, fled, and were pursued and cut down as far as Chimbassa, a town nine miles from the spot where they were surprised. While his rear-guard was being disposed of in this manner, Tantia Topee, with the main body, was rapidly marching southward, in the direction of the Nerbudda, avoiding Bhopaul, where Brigadier Parke was ready to receive him. His march, however, was not unobserved. Beatson's horse received intelligence of his advance, and 350 sabres were immediately ordered out to reconnoitre. On their arrival at Bagrode, they learned that the enemy mustered exceedingly strong; and as the regiment was young and untried, it was resolved to fall back upon a pass between two hills on the road to Bhopaul, and maintain it until reinforced by Brigadier Parke. Here they bivouacked for the night, and early the following morning retreated three miles more, halting at a village called Garrispore. The enemy not making his appearance, it was resolved again to advance; and about noon the troops re-entered Bagrode. Here information was received that Tantia was encamped about four miles off, and the European officers ascended a neighbouring hill to reconnoitre. They had barely reached the summit when they descried a body of about two hundred cavalry riding straight for their camp, at a distance of not more than three-quarters of a mile. To descend the hill was the work of a moment, and every saddle was in an instant filled. The ground was uneven, and full of holes; but in despite of every impediment, the sowars were soon engaged hand to hand with the enemy. They scarcely stood to receive them, but turned and fled. Beatson's horsemen pursued for four miles, and killed upwards of forty of them, wounding a great number, who managed to escape into the high grass and grain fields. Four prisoners were captured, and shot as soon as the sowars returned to camp. Tantia does not seem to have halted long in the neighbourhood of Bagrode. The place was a dangerous one: Michel was in his rear, Parke on his right

flank, and Beatson's horse on his left: he therefore pushed his troops on southward, his sick and wounded marking his line of march; his force, altogether, only amounting to about eight thousand men, composed of cavalry and infantry—the former indifferently mounted, and the latter but poorly equipped. In addition to the force already mentioned as drawing round him, Lord Mark Kerr, with 600 Mahratta horse, had also approached in dangerous proximity from another direction; and, at this juncture, it was reported that Tantia Topee, feeling himself hard pressed, sent a messenger to Kerr, asking the terms on which he might offer his submission to the government. The reply of the officer was simply, that he would preserve his life until he had conferred with the authorities, and obtained instructions as to his disposal; but that, in the meanwhile, if he (Kerr) caught him in the field, he would certainly have him hanged. As these terms were by no means conciliatory, the chief once more availed himself of his unrivalled talent for flight, and, by crossing the Nerbudda, escaped for a time from the awkward companionship that had so nearly been forced upon him.

The following details of the movements of Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib, and the nawab of Banda, after their passage of the Nerbudda, throw further light upon their operations, and rectify the error as to the proposed submission of the first-named chief.

It appears that the army under Tantia, about four thousand strong, reached the northern bank of the Nerbudda on the 30th of October, at a point fifty miles east of Hosungabad. Kerr, with the Southern Mahratta horse, was not at that moment at Hosungabad. After a march from Kulladghie of 650 miles, during which he crossed five large rivers, hundreds of brimfull nullahs, toiled painfully through black soil converted into slime by heavy rains, and only over thirty miles of made road, in thirty-eight days, he crossed the Nerbudda with his force, with orders to push on to Bhilsa, and there act as circumstances required. The road from Hosungabad to Bhilsa was a mere footpath on the hill-sides, offering considerable difficulty to the advance of cavalry. Kerr's force had hardly concluded the second day's march on the 1st of November, when intelligence was received that Tantia Topee had crossed the



river. Orders were accordingly issued to turn back; and at 4 P.M. on the same day, the Southern Mahratta horse found itself again in the town of Hosungabad. The greatest excitement was visible in the camp and city. The troops were retiring into the intrenchment; the citizens shutting up their shops; the whole population, in fact, seemed in considerable trepidation at the idea of Tantia Topee being in the vicinity. Kerr resolved to impose upon Tantia by vigorous measures, and, starting the same night, rode forty miles to Sohagpore, which, by the rapidity of his march, was fortunately saved from plunder. Tantia Topee was then only eighteen miles distant to the eastward. The country into which he had now entered was one of the wildest in Central India—a hilly tract throughout, comprising within its limits the eastern portion of the Vindyah and Mahadeo mountains, and inhabited by that primitive race the Goonds, who are supposed to be the aborigines of Hindostan; having a language unlike that of any other in Hindostan, and whose habits are so far removed from civilisation, that they live in a state of complete nudity. It was at Sohagpore that the first intimation was received that one of the rebel chiefs, at least, desired to surrender. That chief, however, was not Tantia Topee, but the nawab of Banda. A servant of his was arrested at the post-office, in the act of dispatching two letters from his master—one addressed to Sir Robert Hamilton, another to Captain Kerr. In the latter, the nawab declared that he had all along been a prisoner (which was not true; for it was very well known that he commanded Tantia's horse), and that he desired to surrender, if he was assured of protection. The servant seemed to have had instructions, if caught, to corroborate this tale; for he stated, on examination, that the nawab was watched night and day, was much broken in health and spirits, and had been a prisoner to the Rao ever since Sir Hugh Rose's advance on Calpee. It was ascertained from the same source, that the force under the three chiefs still amounted to 2,200 infantry (all mounted on tatoes), and 1,800 cavalry—the 5th and 8th Bengal, and Gwalior irregular cavalry; that the Rao, who usually rode on an elephant preceded by a band of country music, nominally held supreme command, Tantia Topee being only commander-in-chief; that the Banda nawab had left all

his jewels behind him, but that his wives and family were with the rebels; that these, however, carried all their wealth with them, and were covered with jewels. As to the condition of the force, it was described as very low, the horses and elephants being much beaten, the men wearied and dispirited, and Tantia comparatively without authority. It was further stated that the sepoys, in their disheartened state, regretted what they called the good old times—laid the mutiny on their officers' shoulders, and cursed them as the cause of their present altered circumstances.

Tantia, it seems, reached the Nerbudda on the 30th of October; crossed it on the 31st; halted the next day; and having won the rajah of Futteh-pore to his side, occupied that place on the night of the 2nd of November. The news of Kerr's advance on Bhilsa occasioned his retreat from that place, which, but for this, would infallibly have been plundered. Sohagpore was saved in a similar manner by the advance from Hosungabad. On the 2nd of November Kerr advanced from Sohagpore, ten miles from Hutwas, having a slight skirmish as he did so with a small body of irregular horse in red coats. The rebels were still at Futteh-pore—a large town, situated at the foot of a low range of hills, backed by the Putchmurrec mountains, which are some forty miles deep, and quite unsuited for cavalry. In front of the town stretched a thick rocky jungle, about two miles and a-half in depth, the town itself being intersected with numerous deep ravines. Against such a position it was vain to hope that 350 horse could do anything; and the wisest course was to wait for the arrival of Michel, then advancing from Bhopaul, having left that place on the 1st, and expecting to be at the Nerbudda on the 6th. Kerr's impatience, under these circumstances, may be easily conceived. But he had one consolation. Once in the Putchmurrees, he knew that the rebels must be lost if the Nagpore, Jubbulpore, Nursing-pore, and Baitool forces were moved to a common centre: provisions would utterly fail; and the rebels must be captured. Without such a combination, difficulties of no ordinary kind might be anticipated; for the rajahs having joined Tantia, might afford him all that he required; whilst our force would have to push its way into a country the peasantry of which were disinclined to give information, and were completely unfriendly. Hopes were, however, entertained



that the Goond population might be raised against them by prospects of plunder, especially as a party of ten determined Shikarrees declared themselves confident of successfully assailing Tantia Topee in some narrow gorges through which troops could only pass in single file. They were accordingly sent out to do what they could in those positions. On the 3rd of November the Southern Mahratta horse advanced to Futtehpore, which Tantia Topee had abandoned, and encamped under the very trees whose foliage had shaded Tantia and his confederates but the day before. The rajahs came in and tried to explain their conduct, and several sepoys who were captured were taken and executed.

The position of Tantia had now become little other than desperate, as it was known, from prisoners who surrendered after the battle of Korrai, that his followers, although still numerous, were dispirited and footsore; that many of them had thrown away their arms; and that he had no field guns, and scarcely any small-arm ammunition. Besides these disadvantages, the chiefs of his own people were beginning to discountenance his reckless efforts to prolong a losing game. Thus, when at Bagrode he applied to the ranee of Bhopaul for assistance, in the shape of men and guns, her cool reply was, "If you want them, come and take them;" and at the same time, with the duplicity of her race, she sent information regarding her *quondam* friend to all the British columns in the neighbourhood.

Pursuing his advantage, General Michel, on the 31st of October, reached Bhilsa, *en route* to Bhopaul, Brigadier Beatson being on the march to the same place to join Brigadier Parke; while Colonel Smith was at Leronge;—the troops under each being destined for the further pursuit of the rebel chief, who still, in defiance of misfortune, announced himself viceroy of the Peishwa, Nana Sahib; and summoned the people to resist the British troops in his name.

A letter from General Michel's camp, dated the 31st of October, says—"Prisoners and stragglers are being daily brought in. Their captors are generally their own countrymen, inhabiting the villages along the line of march. They are shot without ceremony; upwards of a hundred having been disposed of in this manner since the engagement at Korrai. At the action of Scindwa, some chief of consequence—probably the nawab of Banda—seems to have been mortally wounded; as, in the pursuit, our troops

overtook a richly-ornamented palanquin, the owner of which had been left on the field of battle, being in too dangerous a state to be removed. The four bearers stated that it belonged to his highness; but they were shot down without further inquiry. It is to be hoped that, with the capture or death of Tantia Topee, these scenes of violence and bloodshed will cease, the campaign in Central India having left fearful marks behind it. Every one, however, it is satisfactory to learn, regards the revolt, as far as this leader is concerned, near an end; and, from private intelligence received this morning, I learn that he has at length been surrounded in the Nizam's dominions, and is now suing for terms. This news is from a most reliable source; so that the rebellion in Central India may be considered to be virtually suppressed. The people generally are very well affected towards us, Tantia's army being chiefly composed of budmashes and mutinous sepoys. Of course, the only terms which he will receive will be unconditional surrender; but it is not likely that his life will be forfeited."

At length the day arrived when the important announcement was to be made that India had passed under the direct government of the queen of England. Arrangements had been made by the governor-general, and his colleagues in office, that the promulgation of this document should be effected on the same day at every station in British India still under the control of the authorities; and the consummation of the fact was celebrated by manifestations of loyalty and satisfaction on the part of the native population of the three presidencies, that far exceeded the anticipations of the most sanguine among the European community.

The morning of the 1st day of November, 1858, witnessed the simultaneous commencement of a new reign, a new policy, and a new campaign in the ancient empire of the Moguls; and, amidst the roar of demonstrative cannon, and the triumphal flourish of martial music, Queen Victoria was proclaimed actual and supreme ruler of India; and at the same moment, by the gracious command of the sovereign, it was declared in her name, that the claims of retributive justice had ceased at the bidding of mercy, and that for all insurrectionary crimes short of absolute and wanton bloodguiltiness, forgiveness was freely offered to all the erring subjects of the majesty of England.

The following is the proclamation, which announced to nearly two hundred millions of people the important and gratifying event:—

*Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.*

“Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

“Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Hon. East India Company.

“Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

“And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first viceroy and governor-general in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal secretaries of state.

“And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Hon. East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

“We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon. East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously

maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

“We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

“We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

“We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

“We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power having been shown by the suppression of



that rebellion in the field, we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

"Already in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our viceroy and governor-general has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who in the late unhappy disturbances have been guilty of offences against our government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our viceroy and governor-general, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

"Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

"To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

"To all others in arms against the government, we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

"It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the 1st day of January next.

"When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all

power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

The royal declaration was accompanied by the following notification of the governor-general of India:—

"Foreign Department, Allahabad, Nov. 1.

"Her majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, the viceroy and governor-general hereby notifies, that from this day all acts of the government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

"From this day, all men of every race and class, who under the administration of the Hon. East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

"The governor-general summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in her royal proclamation.

"From the many millions of her majesty's native subjects in India, the governor-general will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the government of India, with the governor-general."

It has been observed, that the promulgation of her majesty's proclamation was received with great manifestations of rejoicing; and it may suffice to notice the proceedings at a few of the most important stations, as exhibiting the general feeling that prevailed.

At Calcutta, whose sun had been shorn of its beams by the long absence of the governor-general and the *élite* of his court, the exhibition of rejoicing partook more of deep feeling than of outward display. Early in the day, the troops in garrison were paraded in front of the government-house, and the shipping in the river was decorated with flags of every conceivable form and colour: at noon, the council assembled in full dress, and, with the lieutenant-governor of Bengal and his staff, repaired in procession to the great portico of the government-house; the entire area of the

esplanade being covered by dense masses of the inhabitants of the city and its environs. From the elevation afforded by the magnificent flight of steps opposite the state entrance, after some appropriate formalities had been observed, the proclamation was read by the lieutenant-governor in the English and Bengalee languages; and at its conclusion, a royal salute was fired as the standard of England slowly rose, unfurling its blazonry to the air; while the troops presented arms, and the bands poured out to many the heart-awakening strains of the national anthem, almost drowned by the acclamations of the delighted people. In the evening there was a general illumination of Calcutta and of the ships in port,\* in which both land and river vied with each other in brilliancy and device.

At Allahabad, the temporary residence of the viceroy of India, great preparations had been made for the celebration of the important event. Upon a platform covered with crimson cloth, and emblazoned with

\* The following amusing description of a subsequent pyrotechnic display, in honour of the event, appeared in the *Calcutta Englishman*:—"The pyrotechnic undertakings of Calcutta are invariably attended with misfortune; and Colonel Powney's fogs, which obliterated the coruscations of his structures, have passed into a proverb. On the 26th of November, the inhabitants of Calcutta proceeded, in high hopes and great glee, to the Mydan to feast their eyes, thinking over the delicious programme, and anticipating the brilliant scene of myriads of rockets, revolving suns, and numberless Roman candles: and was there not her majesty to be on horseback in beautiful transparencies? The Mydan was covered with a multitude of the muslined subjects of the Queen, and the roofs and verandahs of the palaces of Chowringhee were filled with the Europeans of Calcutta, eager for the spectacle. Now the display opened—the towers were lighted up; the city of Catania, at the foot of Mount Ætna, and the whole front of fireworks, were beautifully illuminated; then followed the salute, and magnificent flights of rockets streaming up to the skies. The blaze upon, and sudden illumination of, the Ochterlony monument was grand; and again the flight of rockets here was superb; the crowd shouted with delight, and great was the applause. About this time some confusion was perceived—the order of the programme was not followed; but as yet no one discovered that anything was wrong. The siege of Delhi succeeded. Guns were fired. The attack of red Roman candles was gallantly replied to by white balls of fire; however, nothing could stand the energy of the red—the gates were blown in, and the town was taken: at this time the confusion increased. A splendid *bouquet* of fire suddenly flared up, and frantic operatives rushed out amongst the constructions hither and thither. The grand *façade* of the palace, surmounted by the regalia of England, and the transparencies, went off in a blaze. What was the matter? And now they

the royal arms, a richly gilded and ornamented chair, under a canopy of crimson and gold, over which floated the royal standard of England, was prepared for the representative of Queen Victoria. A large body of troops was on the ground, and an assemblage of civilians and native spectators occupied every available spot within range of the spectacle. Soon after 5 o'clock p.m., Lord Canning, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and a glittering staff of military and civil officers, rode to the platform. His lordship, who was attired in a court uniform, rode a splendid black charger, and was surrounded by a cloud of peons in scarlet liveries, bearing silver wands. After a salute to the governor-general, the latter approached the *daïs* upon which the symbolic throne was raised, and taking his place upon the lower step, the proclamation was read aloud in the English language by the chief secretary to the government. This done, an Oordoo translation was read for the information of the natives, and the usual salutes were given;

crept closer to inspect. All at once they saw the native operatives flee, and a burst of rockets followed; then away ran the whole line of native spectators, and rockets in full chase in their rear. Doubtless, the natives believed in an intended general massacre. The rush was great, and the cry *a sauve qui peut*. Those standing their ground to observe the progress of affairs within the leaguer, espied certain gentlemen, pyrotechnists and artificers no doubt, cowering under wooden umbrellas, and hiding behind posts, to save themselves from the fire which showered down upon them; and then they rushed out, leaping, skipping about, and dodging rockets which kept shooting, fizzing, rushing in all improper directions.

Rockets rise and stoop, and rise again,

Wild and disorderly.

In the background were the rocks and palaces all in red flames; serpents, wheels, stars, suns, Roman candles, twisting, whizzing, blazing in dire confusion, with the pyrotechnists jumping in front as demons—giving the whole the most ludicrous effect conceivable. Pandemonium, in fact, as an unrehearsed performance. Happily no one was seriously hurt. Ætna lighted up irregularly, and, after a careful consideration, proceeded to burn out steadily; only, instead of inferior fires, the whole mountain burned down—at one period looking a very volcano, but without eruptions or lava; all the properties provided for this effect having gone off *à tort et à travers*, making the pyrotechnic staff perform the antics described. Then the triumphal arch took up the strain and joined in the performance, adding another brilliant bonfire to the mass. Finally, the whole fabrics, all the mighty preparations for long-expected entertainment, went off in one great chaos of combustion. A conflagration, over which Lucifer himself might have presided, burning itself down to a mere dull commonplace ordinary fire, worthy the attention of a fire brigade, and the anxiety of an insurance office."



after which the *cortège* retired from the ground. In the evening, the event was celebrated by exhibitions of fireworks and illuminations.

At Lahore, a durbar tent was pitched for the accommodation of the European visitors, who were ranged on one side; while the native nobles occupied the other; and in front, the brigade stationed at Meean Meer was formed into line. In the absence of the chief commissioner, Mr. Thornton officiated as the representative of the local government. In an introductory address, he made a graceful allusion to the absence of Sir John Lawrence; and then the proclamation was read in English and in the vernacular, for the benefit of both races within the tent; after which it was read to the troops formed up for the purpose, who gave three English cheers, and the guns fired the salute. The judicial commissioner, with the brigadier and many of the European residents, then re-entered the durbar tent, and conversed with the natives of rank for a short time; and the assembly finally broke up. One who was present at the scene, writes—"The European and Asiatic were mingling together; the more sober costume of the Western races, whose pursuits were of a peaceful nature, relieved by the more showy uniforms of our military officers, and contrasting with the more gaudy splendour of the native princes and nobles, among whom we noticed his highness Rajah Jowahir Sing, an unfortunate prince, who had come to aid in giving dignity to the scene, and to indulge perhaps in the hope that a change of any kind would bring with it a recognition of claims which have been strangely overlooked by a government to whom he has been a faithful and honourable ally. We noticed, too, the Rajah Tej Sing; the Shahzadahs Ally Ahmed, Gholam Mohumed, and Share Mamud, of the royal family of Cabul, and other shahzadahs; Pundit Muksooddun, Runjeet Sing's astronomer; Nawabs Abdool Mujeed (of Mooltan), and Jehangeer Khan; Bhugvandass, son of Gholab Sing, vakeel of the Jummooh chief; the vakeels of Nabba and Putteeala, and other native gentry; in all about 400 gentlemen, who formed a goodly array of the nobles of the Punjab. Rae Hilsuren Dass, as master of the ceremonies, was in attendance, assigning their proper places to the native nobles and gentry."

Of the reception of the proclamation at Bombay, the following account is given in

a letter from that city, dated the 9th of November:—

"The proclamation was received from Allahabad, by Lord Elphinstone, in the last days of October, and was publicly read on the 1st of November. All the troops in the garrison, the whole population, European and native, were convened to meet in the town-hall, and on the green before it, to hear the solemn declaration of Indian rights and duties read. At five o'clock in the afternoon the governor and public functionaries assembled in the durbar room. By the side of the brilliant uniforms of the staff mingled the snow-white dresses of the Parsees and the Mussulmen, the gay turbans and scarfs of the Hindoos, and the dark habiliments of the clergy, among whom appeared not only the European ministers of the Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths, but the dusky forms of native converts, with shaven heads and black scalp locks. A procession having been formed, with less attention to the etiquette of each one's rank than would have been possible in the days of Ossory and Charles II., Lord Elphinstone and the secretaries of government advanced to a platform erected on the steps of the town-hall, and proceeded to the business of the occasion. The scene presented from the spot where Mr. Young, the chief secretary to government, stood, holding in his hand the royal proclamation, was not without its peculiar characteristics. To the right and left of the principal actors in the scene stood the 'beauty and fashion' of Bombay. On the steps below the platform was a choice assemblage of native gentlemen; and on the green, or crowding onwards from the side streets abutting upon it, waved to-and-fro a turbaned crowd, the variegated hues of whose dresses, full of that harmony peculiar to the East, gave a marked character to the scene. The houses, in themselves sufficiently mean, were decorated with flags and preparations for the coming illumination. The roofs were filled with spectators, whose scanty clothing allowed their long thin limbs to be seen in relief upon the deep evening sky. The circular road round the green was kept by the regiments of the garrison. A flagstaff stood at the foot of the town-hall steps; another erect on the point of the cathedral, awaiting the unfolding of the standard of England, which was to wave for the first time over the city of Bombay. In the midst of the deepest silence Mr. Young read the proclamation in English, which was

afterwards delivered in Mahratti by the chief interpreter, Mr. Wassewdeo. The troops saluted, the bands played 'God save the Queen,' and the royal standards rose simultaneously to the summit of the flagstuffs—that hoisted on the cathedral expanding at once to the breeze, and showing the lions of England. On the lower flagstaff the royal standard hung listlessly; and it was not till the troops had begun to move, after the cheering and booming of the royal salute had been heard, that the emblem of English sovereignty was found to have been hung upside down. There was a pang in the breast of the superstitious at that moment; who consoled themselves, however, with the thought that a similar accident had not happened to the flag on the cathedral. Evening was closing in when the ceremony was completed; and as the crowd dispersed from the town-hall, the first signs of the illuminations were visible in the increasing gloom. Triumphal arches had been thrown across the streets, not only of the fort, but of the native city. Thousands upon thousands of lights gave out in fire the outlines of colonnades, windows, curious gables, and quaint devices. Queen Victoria's name was everywhere—as 'Queen of India, Empress of Hindostan.' There were 'Farewells to the East India Company;' new hopes for the future of India emblazoned on more than one edifice. Crystal chandeliers were hung from house to house amid festoons of light; and, throughout the streets, glaring yellow, blue, and green, in the obscurity of a moonless night: crowds of people in every walk of life flaunted gaily along, and enlivened the scene. The gates of the fort, the bastions, and ravelins were embroidered with flame; the ships in the harbour shone out in the darkness amid the blaze of blue lights. Bombay had never seen such a celebration; nor had its population, fond as Orientals are of glitter and glare, ever enjoyed so much of it."

Of these manifestations of loyalty and devotion, the *Bombay Standard* also gave the following details:—"The 1st of November will, for many generations to come, be regarded as a red-letter day in the calendar of India. Long before daybreak, on Monday, the 1st instant, workmen in thousands were plying with redoubled energy the toils which had for the three previous days occupied them, and were increasing in arduousness as their close approached. It seemed difficult at breakfast-time to suppose

that it was possible for more than half our toils to be completed by dusk; but 'where there's a will there's a way;' and by two o'clock, house after house, and street after street, began to show that they were ready for the illumination. When the people began to collect, three parts of the arrangements were perfected, though not a few continued to toil till well on in the evening. By four o'clock crowds of people began to pour from all directions into the centre of the fort. By five, parties of her majesty's 57th, 79th, and 89th, with the marine battalion, the 1st grenadiers, and the 11th native infantry, had taken their places, and almost entirely encircled the green, their bands being drawn up in front of the town-hall. The spare ground assigned to the corps was completely covered. Exactly at ten minutes past five, the governor and members of council and staff, the judges of the Supreme Court, and Sudder Adawlut, the commander-in-chief, and the whole presidency staff, with a vast concourse of other officers, made their appearance on the platform, where ample room had been provided for the ladies. A grand flourish of trumpets indicated that the solemnities of the occasion were to be proceeded with, when the chief secretary, by the command of the governor, stepped forward and read the royal proclamation.

"A tremendous cheer followed the reading of the document; while the saluting battery took up the roar, and 101 guns from every ship of war in the harbour, told that India now, from henceforth, was held only under the sovereign of England. The standard of England was hoisted on the cathedral steeple, the garrison flagstaff, and the mast-head of the *Akbar*. There was for a time a dead lull in the air; the flag hung nearly by the mast, so as to make it impossible to discover the device, or whether the difficulties of the previous day had been surmounted. Just as the cheer burst forth a light breeze sprung up, and the flag, as if alive to the occasion, spread out straight and smooth as a slab of stone. The proclamation of the viceroy on her majesty's assumption of authority came next, and closed the proceedings, when the people and troops withdrew, leaving the green in the hands of the decorators and illuminators.

"At seven o'clock a vast concourse assembled opposite the bastion near the Bazaar gate, to witness the fireworks; these, though very inferior to London displays of like kind, vastly surpassed anything ever



witnessed in Bombay, and reflected infinite credit on all concerned. Amongst the exhibitions was that of a bude light, before which the brightest of the others 'paled their ineffectual fires,' bearing as a motto, 'The Queen, God bless her.' This portion of the exhibition occupied little more than half-an-hour, when the multitude proceeded to see the fireworks and illuminations in the harbour, vast numbers taking boats and proceeding out to the anchorage. The illuminations, like the fireworks, were on a scale altogether unsurpassed by like displays in Bombay, and an enthusiasm was manifested in their preparation which augured well for the new *régime*. Notwithstanding the very short notice given for the making the necessary preparations, nothing was wanting to add to the brilliancy of the scene. The government buildings were elaborately and tastefully decorated and lit up, the mansions of our leading native gentlemen displaying equal taste and brilliancy. The grand spectacle was, of course, Bombay-green. The illuminations of the town-hall, the most beautiful and prominent, were marred by the multitude of lamps every now and then blowing out. The railway office exhibited a gigantic crown, formed entirely from the coloured bull's-eye lamps of the engines: as nothing could touch them, they shone out like so many gigantic diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, undimmed in their brilliancy by the efflux of time. The great Mohammedan mosque, which always lights up so well, shone with peculiar splendour, as did many others of the great buildings in the bazaar.

"We must not attempt to thread the narrow streets and lanes; it is sufficient to say that every cranny and corner was covered with such decorations as the owners could afford, and that the poor man, out of his scanty stores, gave his mite with as hearty a good-will as the rich, while the millionaire contributed his heap of talents to the treasury. Every native mansion was thrown wide open, and all visitors welcomed—the spectacles within being often still more magnificent than those without the walls. About 10 p.m., Lord Elphinstone and staff visited all our principal streets and scenes of festivity, and our notables were found moving about everywhere, very much admiring the brilliancy of the display. At times the avenues were impassable; and in one place a man was crushed to death. An exhibition of fireworks took place at every public and

private school, and at every large establishment throughout Bombay. Many of the churches and chapels, especially the Roman Catholic, Parsee temples, Hindoo pagodas, and Mohammedan mosques, were lighted up. The Indian navy and the shipping in the harbour also took part in the ceremony of the proclamation. All the men-of-war were dressed in full, with the national flags at the several mast-heads—signal flags and pendants over all, rainbow fashion. Late in the evening the *Akbar* illuminated with long lights from each yardarm, lower booms, jibboom, and taffrail, and was followed in succession by all the other vessels in the harbour. Rockets were sent up, blue lights burnt, and guns fired for hours in succession. The merchant ships were similarly dressed; and although they did not all fire guns, made the same display of pyrotechnic splendour. The spectacle which the harbour presented in the evening was one of rare and almost matchless beauty. At the last display of blue lights, the order to man the yards was piped; and the Jacks, eager and willing to obtain the loftiest and most important position on the yards or shrouds, answered the call with the greatest alacrity. At once they could be seen swarming up the shrouds like bees, covering the rigging as they mounted higher and higher, climbing out along the yards, till rows of men fringed every spar; and then in three hearty cheers of 'God save the Queen,' given as only British sailors can give, the seamen seemed to vie with each other who should most vigorously exert their stentorian lungs. The *fête*, on the whole, notwithstanding the breeze, which put out many of the lights, was as splendid and successful as the community at large could wish it to be."

At Madras, probably in consequence of the absence of the lieutenant-governor of the presidency (Lord Harris), the proceedings of the day presented a marked contrast to those exhibited at all other places where the royal proclamation was read by authority. "It is true," observed the *Madras Athenæum*, "that there was a parade of all the troops in garrison—that the proclamation was read by Mr. Chief Secretary Pycroft—that the troops fired a royal salute; but that was all. The ceremony took place on the island, the troops being inside, and the people outside. There was a large gathering of military officers on and near the platform which had been erected for the occasion; but there was a marked deficiency in the civilian

element of the audience; and as for the general community, considerable pains appears to have been taken to exclude them altogether from participation in the ceremony. Not a single native was on the platform, with the exception of the one who translated the proclamation; and the absence of those to whom the proclamation was addressed, was of course owing to the fact that their attendance had not been provided for. In this way was the Queen's assumption of the government of her Indian territories inaugurated at Madras: comment is unnecessary. However, on the 8th of November there were some bad fireworks, dancing-girls and jugglers on the island, and a state ball in the banqueting-hall, which was very tastefully illuminated.

As a remarkable instance of the mutability of human grandeur, it may be recorded that, on the 1st of November, 1858, while the royal proclamation of Queen Victoria was being read at Cawnpore, the ex-king of Delhi was brought into that station on his way to Allahabad, under a guard of lancers and some artillery. The thunder of the salutes, the triumphant strains of the military bands, and the glittering display through which the prison *cortège* passed on its cheerless march, contrasted strangely with the wretched, old, patched-up vehicle in which the phantom king sat, apparently regardless of all around him. Such a scene, on such a stage as Cawnpore, was emphatically suggestive of the word RETRIBUTION!

The announcement of the auspicious act by which India was recognised as part and parcel of the dominions of the imperial throne of England, was productive of congratulatory addresses to the Queen from every district, and from almost every chief, from Scindia downward, as well as from the inhabitants of the several presidency capitals. The nawab of Moorshedabad\* appears to have been the first to conceive the idea of addressing a congratulatory letter to her majesty; and the following is a copy of the document,

\* The city of Moorshedabad became the capital of Bengal in 1704, when the seat of government was removed from Dacca by the nawab, Jaffier Khan; and it continued to be recognised as such until the conquest of the province by the English, in 1757, when it was superseded in its metropolitan rank by Calcutta. It is still the seat of the nawab, who for some years has enjoyed a royal pension from the government, as a compensation for the surrender of his sovereign rights. The city, which has a popula-

transmitted under his highness's signature, for presentation to the sovereign of India:—

*To Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c., &c.*

"Palace, Moorshedabad, 1st Nov., 1858.

"Madam,—On the 31st of August, the British empire in the East passed under the direct authority of your most gracious majesty. The benign rule of your majesty now extends also to India, and its moral and physical effects will soon be felt throughout the land, especially by rendering justice attainable to all, rich and poor; and by developing the boundless natural resources of this great empire. I hail the event as the commencement of a new era in the history of India, and as the forerunner of a mighty change, which opens a vision of a bright future. Wherever the banner of your majesty is unfurled, industry, arts, and science follow in its wake, and carry with them prosperity, civilisation, and education;—those inestimable blessings which everywhere so largely contribute to the happiness of your majesty's faithful subjects, and add fresh stability to the throne.

"As the descendant of one of the oldest ruling families of Hindostan, and the acknowledged faithful ally of the British government, I desire permission to be one of the first to lay this my humble tribute of loyalty, respect, and affection at the foot of the throne of your most gracious majesty. May the God of mankind shower his choicest blessings upon your majesty and family; and that long life, health, and happiness may be the portion of the mighty sovereign of Great Britain, is the fervent and sincere prayer of, madam, your majesty's most humble and faithful servant and subject,

"SYED MUNSOOR ULLEE."

At a large public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta, held on the 3rd of November, for the purpose of considering an address to her majesty, a native merchant of high position, in the following speech, gave utterance to the feeling which was unanimously believed to pervade Indian society at the time. The words of Baboo Ramgopal Ghose, upon this occasion, were as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—Since I came into the room, I have been requested to second the resolution which you have just heard read. I consider it a privilege and an honour to have been requested to do so. I feel that I am somewhat in a false position, inasmuch as I see around me many of higher rank and of greater influence among my countrymen, who would have more worthily and ably represented the native community on the important occasion than I can pretend to do. But, at the same time, my intercourse

tion of 165,000, is meanly built, and its only edifice of importance is the white palace of the nawab. Many mosques are scattered through the city; and the remains of a Mohammedan palace, built from the ruins of Gour—an ancient city about fifty miles distant, long since left to decay—are still visible. The district from which the nawab derives his title, and the city its name, comprises an area of 1,870 square miles; and, in 1822, it had a population of 762,690 souls.



in life has been so much with Englishmen, and I know so much of the vast resources, the great power, and the great goodness of the English people, that I do not think myself altogether incompetent to offer an opinion on those points. If I had power and influence, I would proclaim through the length and breadth of this land—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from Bermapootra to the Bay of Cambay—that never were the natives more grievously mistaken than they have been in adopting the notion foisted upon them by designing and ambitious men, that their religion was at stake—for that notion I believe to have been at the root of the late rebellion. They do not understand the English character; they do not understand the generosity, the benevolence of the governing power—the even-handed justice with which that power is willing and anxious always to do that which is right between man and man, without any reference whatever to the fact whether the men belong to the governing or to the governed class. If all this were known, where would be rebellion in this land? Certainly there would have been no such outbreak as that which recently shook the foundations of this empire. The only remedy is education. Nothing has distressed me more, among the late acts of government, than the positive prohibition against incurring any expense on the score of education. Lord William Bentinck—a name which must ever be remembered with reverence—in his reply to the address which was presented to him on the occasion of his departure from India, said, after enumerating all the evils, all the oppressions, all the grievances under which India labours, that the first remedy was education—that the second remedy was education—and that the third remedy was education. But, to come round to the point, I have read the proclamation of her majesty with great pleasure—with awakened feelings—with tears when I came to the last paragraph. A nobler production it has not been my lot ever to have met with in my life. The justest, the broadest principles are enumerated therein. Humanity, mercy, justice, breathe through every line; and we ought all to welcome it with the highest hope and the liveliest gratitude. Depend upon it, when our sovereign Queen tells us—‘In your prosperity is our strength, in your contentment our security, and in your gratitude our best reward,’ the future of India is full of encouragement and hope to her children. What could have been nobler or more beautiful? what could have better dignified even the tongue of a Queen, than language such as that? Let us kneel down before her with every feeling of loyalty; let us welcome the new reign with the warmest sentiment of gratitude—the deepest feeling of devotion.”

As a fair sample of the spirit with which the language of the proclamation was received both by the native races and the European community, the following extracts from the Indian journals of the day may also be cited:—

The *Bombay Standard* observed—“The act which simultaneously at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore, established the direct rule of England over India, has no parallel in the history of the world, either in the magnitude of the interests affected by it, or in the nature of the change which it inaugu-

rates. Nor is it strange that this should be so. It is part of the history of England—a history which itself has no parallel.

“In the proclamation no new professions are made; but professions that have been made and can be maintained, are guaranteed by a higher and more competent authority than has before been invoked. Every topic noticed has already been, at one time or another, under the consideration of those hitherto in charge of the government of this country. Every principle laid down in it has been more or less acted on; and there is nothing in the promises that any man, who would blush to own himself unjust, could deny to be necessary conditions of empire.

“This feature in the proclamation can only make it uninteresting or unimportant to superficial observers of passing events. In proportion as all reforms are sound, as all revolutions are marks of development, and not symptoms of decay, so the changes involved are returns to first principles, and not the adoption of a theory. Revolutions and reforms that have not been of this character, but have been intended as openings into the royal roads to national prosperity, have failed in effecting anything besides destruction. Constructive revolutions have invariably had for their prominent characteristic that which we point to in her majesty’s assumption of direct authority over the natives of India.

“As for the matter, the proclamation is one of the greatest documents that has appeared in the history of this country. It is weighty, yet simple in style; suited to the solemnity of the occasion, without any of the inflation which too frequently characterises such documents. It conveys the principles on which the future policy of the nation is to be based, the mode of procedure to be taken with reference to present and recent events, and includes retrospective provisions of such comprehensiveness and exactness, as leave nothing in the history of the past that can compromise or cause embarrassment in the future.

“Englishmen will see a further cause for congratulation in the changed aspect of Indian politics, and one most particularly gratifying to their love of candour and truthfulness. We shall have no Venetian veiling of real power under affected titles of humility; and in this respect much odious cant will be directly done away with. Indirectly, also, the same result will follow. And the appeal to motives of philanthropy and general benevolence which have so often disguised the threat or excused the interference of conscious power will, we hope, be as seldom met with in India as in the rest of her majesty’s wide dominions.

“We have seen the last, we hope, of the governors-general. The necessity which in Ireland has ceased, is in India commencing. What was a living reality in Ireland once, but now appears a solemn sham, is in this country inducted into what we may hope to prove a longer lease and a brighter existence. The obvious motives of policy which have dictated the adoption of the title of viceroy, we need not dwell on. Let us hope that the new dignity will be filled by men worthy of the name, and looked up to by the natives of India with reverence, little short of that which we profess to entertain ourselves—more especially as the last thing has been done which remained to place the Indian-born subjects of her majesty on the same footing with their fellows in other parts of the world—that is, under an officer holding his power direct from the crown.

“If we apprehend rightly the meaning of the pro-

clamation, the promises it conveys of internal and civil reforms will have, in their performance, the greatest influence on the future destinies of this country. We cannot but see in the words her majesty is made to use, a solution, an effectual solution, of the difficulty adverted to by Lord Stanley in his last speech—namely, the difficulty of administering from a constitutional country the government of a despotism. In our apprehension, her majesty's declaration that the obligations which bind her to all her other subjects shall be fulfilled faithfully and conscientiously with regard to the natives of her Indian territories, seem to imply, at the very least, the grant of such a constitution as those other subjects, all and each, are in the present enjoyment of, or would consent to live under. If this be true, no one thing can possibly have more interest for every one here, European as well as native. This promise must be viewed as distinct from what has before been laid down as a rule, and is now specially guaranteed—namely, that all her majesty's subjects, of whatever caste and creed, be admitted to our service. We do not wish to imply that a copy of the British constitution will be given to this country; but we confidently expect that those rights shall be secured to the intelligent and educated of its inhabitants, which all we have been taught of the political principles which have been from the days of Hampden the boast of England, tells us is the right of every reasonable being.

"Recent events in India give a special meaning to passages in the proclamation which would otherwise be as general in their character as those we have been discussing. Thus, men of all religions are assured of perfect toleration—of toleration which not only forbids active annoyance and disquiet, but even partial favour. The officers of government are anew enjoined to refrain from all interference, not merely with the worship of her majesty's subjects—that is, in the sense in which such injunctions have been hitherto accepted; but also with the religious belief—a prohibition which will effectually shut out any occurrences such as that which on the parade-ground of Barrackpore ushered in the mutiny. A further provision is made of a like nature in making fitness for employment to consist neither in creed nor in colour, but in moral reliability and in educated aptness."

The *Friend of India* observed—"On the 1st of November, the royal proclamation was made from the steps of government-house, Calcutta. As a state paper, it is not unworthy either of the occasion or of the dignity of the sovereign, who in it addresses as her subjects a fifth of the human race. The official recognition of Christianity as the religion of the ruler will terminate many discussions, while the act of mercy is a graceful commencement of a new régime. We perceive with pleasure that it is so extensive. India is sick of slaughter; and the general pardon, accepted or refused, at least releases her from the opprobrium of blood. The revolution in the government of India is one, the vastness of which only the next generation will appreciate. It is the principle of our government, not its external form, which has been changed; and to the mass of men, a new principle is as imperceptible as the soul. It is none the less all important; none the less capable of moulding slowly every manifestation of external life. India has become part of the British dominions; this is all that has happened; but this is not the insignificant all that the enemies of English-

men would have them believe. Nothing was changed, save a name, when the convention announced the abdication of James II. The monarchy was untouched. The prerogative remained unimpaired. The law remained unmodified. Even the royal house was unchanged; but from that day the national life of England took a new development. A new principle had been introduced, and the consequence was, the difference between the England of the Stuarts and the England of Victoria. India has also changed a name; and a century hence, men will date the history of progress from the proclamation of the Queen.

"The duty of our statesmen is now clear. It is to remodel our institutions, till they accord with that English spirit which must mould them in the end, and, while organising that physical strength without which freedom is anarchy, and civilisation only a lure to the plunderer, to prove by their acts that they are competent to lead the millions, over whom their sovereign has now for the first time claimed her right to rule."

The *Calcutta Phoenix*, among other remarks of a eulogistic character, observed—"For the future we need fear no general conspiracy of the princes of India against our rule. They will feel that their dominions are safe, and that their best guarantee will be the friendship of the paramount government—a protecting, not an absorbing, government."

"The avowal as to liberty of conscience, also cannot fail to be highly gratifying to the natives at large. Such an avowal, promising that creed shall entail no political or social disqualification, was imperatively needed. With or without foundation, the notion had got abroad among the masses that governmental interference with their creeds was intended. Such an idea was extensively entertained, and believed; and further, was made capital of by traitors. There are probably large numbers of natives whom it would be impossible to induce to free their minds of such a preposterous notion. Still the proclamation will set the fears of such men at rest. The credit of the Indian government has not sunk so low that its solemn assurance will not receive credence from its subjects."

"We are glad that the proclamation wound up with the conditional and restricted amnesty it did. We are inclined to hope that such an announcement will not be found entirely unfruitful of good results. There can be no quarter, or hope of pardon, offered to the cowardly murderers of our countrymen and countrywomen; but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that there are thousands of men in arms against us in Oude who believe that they have drawn, and are wielding, their swords in an honest cause. For these men some honourable road of retreat should be opened; and we are free to confess that we regard the terms offered by the proclamation as affording such, and as going to the fullest extent which the British government could have gone."

As by the decision of the imperial legislature, and the surrender by the East India Company of its territorial and political rights, that Company, so far as the actual government of India was concerned, had become defunct—the present chapter may fitly close with the record of one of its last and most graceful acts, which was



communicated to the governor-general by a despatch from England, on the 1st of September, 1858; and, on the 5th of November, was promulgated by Lord Canning in the following public notification from Allahabad:—

"Nov. 5.—The right honourable the governor-general directs the publication of the subjoined despatch from the Hon. the Court of Directors, and of a resolution passed by a General Court of the East India Company, on the 30th of August last.

"Public Department, No. 147, of 1858.

"Our Governor-general in Council.

"We have the satisfaction of transmitting to you, for promulgation in such manner as you may consider suitable, the copy of a resolution unanimously passed by the General Court of the East India Company, held on the 30th ultimo, expressing the thanks of the Court to the servants and officers of the Company 'of every rank, and in every capacity.'—We are, &c.,

"(Signed) F. CURRIE—W. J. EASTWICK.

"London, 1st September, 1858.

"Countersigned, in accordance with 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 85, sec. 2.

"J. D. DICKINSON, Secretary."

*Extract Minutes of a Special General Court of the East India Company, held at their House in Leadenhall Street, on Monday, the 30th of August, 1858.*

"A proprietor, adverting to the fact of this being the last occasion of the meeting of the General Court before the severance of the connection of the East India Company with the government of India, and moving the Court, it was—

"Resolved unanimously,—That the East India Company, on surrendering, at the bidding of parliament, those powers connected with the government of the British territories in India, which it has long exercised as trustee for the crown, desires to return its warmest thanks to its servants and officers of every rank, and in every capacity, for the fidelity, zeal, and efficiency with which they have performed their several duties, and offers to them its best wishes for their future prosperity.

"To those who are natives of India, the East India Company has the satisfaction of being able to give the fullest assurance, that in her majesty Queen Victoria they will find a most gracious mistress, not unmindful of their past services under that authority which has hitherto had the honour of representing British sovereignty in India, and ever ready to reward loyalty to the British crown.

"The East India Company is convinced that the members of the home department of the Company's government will maintain the high reputation which that department now enjoys, and will continue, when enrolled in the direct service of the crown, to command the esteem and confidence of their official chiefs and of the public.

"Of its fellow-countrymen employed in India,

under the Company's government, whether as civilians or soldiers, of those especially whose duty has recently subjected them to trials of unexampled severity, and who have done their duty so admirably as to win for them the praise and sympathy of their sovereign and their country, the East India Company is proud to say, that their past conduct affords the strongest security, that the crown will possess no servants abler, none more devoted, than those who have been trained by the Company; and without in any manner arrogating to itself what is due to men, some of whose names are honoured in every region of the civilised world, the East India Company trusts that in the page of impartial history, it may be recorded as having presented, in the career which it has opened both to the members of its own civil and military services, and to the gallant troops of her majesty and her royal predecessors, a field for the exercise of the highest qualities of the statesman and the soldier.

"In the humble hope that the Company's rule will prove to have been, in the hand of Divine Providence, an instrument of good, and even of the highest good to India, the East India Company earnestly prays, that it may please Almighty God to bless the Queen's Indian reign by the speedy restoration of peace, security, and order, and so to prosper her majesty's efforts for the welfare of her East Indian subjects, that the millions who will henceforth be placed under her majesty's direct, as well as sovereign dominion, constantly advancing in all that makes men and nations great, flourishing, and happy, may reward her majesty's cares in their behalf by their faithful and firm attachment to her majesty's person and government."

"The right honourable the governor-general, speaking not only for the government of India, but for all of every class who have acted under that government, desires to record an assurance of the respectful thankfulness with which these parting words of good-will and approval will be received by the vast community of the Indian civil and military services.

"The governor-general is satisfied that, amongst all, there is but one common feeling of acknowledgment of the just, considerate, and liberal treatment which has ever characterised the great Company which has now ceased to govern the British territories in India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

And so, with this grateful recognition of faithful service, terminated the all but imperial rule which, during nearly two centuries, the "Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies," had progressively acquired over princes, and people, and territories, once subject only to the most powerful and magnificent of the dynasties of the Eastern world.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; DEPARTURE OF LORD CLYDE FROM ALLAHABAD; SUBMISSION OF THE RAJAH OF AMATHIE; CAPTURE OF RAMPORE BY COLONEL WEATHERAL; SHUNKERPORE INVESTED; SUMMONS TO BAINIE MADHOO; HIS FORT ABANDONED; FLIGHT AND PURSUIT OF THE GARRISON; ROY BAREILLY; THE BATTLE AT DHOONDIA KERA; MARCH TO LUCKNOW; PROCLAMATION OF THE BEGUM; PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE; PROCLAMATIONS OF RAO SAHIB; PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF FEROZE SHAH; MURDER OF CAPTAIN HARE AT ELLICHPORE; INSURRECTIONARY OUTBREAK IN BURMAH; PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE illuminations by which the inhabitants of the city of Allahabad had testified their satisfaction at the auspicious commencement of her majesty's direct rule over India, had not yet paled before the advancing light of the morning of the 2nd of November, when Lord Clyde left the glittering throng that surrounded the representative of the sovereign, then holding high state in the viceregal palace; and bidding a soldier's farewell to the scene of rejoicing, departed to resume operations for effecting the final suppression of revolt throughout the provinces of Oude.

The campaign in that much-troubled country commenced under the most favourable prospects, and certainly under peculiar circumstances. Although partial operations had never entirely ceased even during the hot-weather months, a well-conceived plan had been quietly matured, for rendering protracted resistance on the part of the rebels difficult and dangerous. That plan, it appears, consisted in placing lines of brigades, or strong detachments, perpendicularly to the course of the Ganges, and extending as far as possible from strategic points on the left bank of that river, towards the western slope of the Himalayas. Thus, from Futteghur to Mohumdee extended one line of brigades and detachments; from Cawnpore to Lucknow stretched another; from Suraon, opposite Allahabad, to Fyzabad, lay a third; whilst from Juanpore, Azimgurh, and Goruckpore, was placed a fourth. At the same time, the right bank of the Ganges, from Futteghur to the Sohne, was properly guarded to prevent the passage of the river, whether into the Doab or Behar. By means of these military lines, the rebels were confined to particular districts, deprived of the means of concentration, and reduced to a position in which they were more likely to be acted upon by the peculiar policy intended to be pursued towards them, and more likely to submit to the terms of peace, as offered by

her majesty's proclamation. Acting in the intervals enclosed by the military lines, were movable brigades of troops, whose duty it would be to occupy important positions into which the enemy might, if hard pressed, ultimately throw themselves in force. These combinations were peculiarly well adapted to produce the object in view; and their success was the more likely to be complete, from the evident difficulty under which the rebels laboured to unite in any concerted movement; for it was characteristic of the struggle, that, whether from the difficulty of obtaining money and provisions for large bodies of men in concentrated positions, or the jealousy which characterised the leaders, the insurgent forces lay scattered throughout the country, without a supreme head, or any bond of union; and it was hoped, from this state of things, that when the campaign really commenced in earnest, many of the great chiefs would be anxious to end the contest by availing themselves of the amnesty.

The principal force of the insurgents lying in the fertile plain confined between the Cawnpore and Lucknow road and the right bank of the Gogra, it was against this portion of the country that the commander-in-chief turned his principal efforts, and determined to lead in person.

The moment for active service in the field had at length arrived; and precisely at two o'clock of the morning of the 2nd of November, 1858, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by his chief of the staff (General Mansfield), and attended by Colonel Medcalfe, Colonel Macpherson, Major Turner, Major Crealock, Captain Alison, and Captain Dormer, left his quarters, and proceeded to the bridge of boats across the Ganges at Papamhow, about five miles from the city, where an escort of carabiniers was waiting to receive him. The bridge, which is wide and well constructed, is several hundred yards in length; and was



lighted up on this occasion by a number of rude lamps, which threw a fitful glare over the dark and rapid waters of the Ganges. Not a sound broke the silence of the passage, except that of the gurgling waters, as they struggled against the floating barrier that impeded their progress, and rushed away in angry foam from the contest—occasionally mingled with the challenges of the sentries, and the dull, heavy tramp of the mounted escort. In a few moments the whole party had crossed into the hostile province; and, breaking into a smart gallop, rode through clouds of dust across the sandy plains towards Suraoon, which place they reached as the sun was rising. Here the escort was changed, and a party of the Lahore light cavalry took the place of the carabiniers, continuing the march at a rapid pace towards the camp—on the road to which, the *cortège* passed several bodies of Oude police and Punjabees, and observed that, in the fields by the sides of the route, all the usual labours of husbandry were being carried on; and that in the villages passed through, which appeared to be full of inhabitants, there was nothing to indicate the existence of a war that had carried destruction through vast districts of the country. After some distance had been accomplished, the Lahore escort was relieved by a squadron of carabiniers, commanded by Captain Betty. A hasty breakfast, during a momentary halt, was partaken, and they again galloped onwards until about nine o'clock, when the videttes reported the outline of the British camp in the distance; and in an hour from that time, the commander-in-chief reached the tent prepared for him at Beylah, a village thirty miles beyond Pertabghur, and about forty from Allahabad.

Immediately after his arrival at the camp, Lord Clyde issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Oude:—

“October 26th.

“The commander-in-chief proclaims to the people of Oude that, under the orders of the right hon. the governor-general, he comes to enforce the law.

“To enable him to effect this without damage to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people.

“The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camps and on the march; and, when there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages.

“But wherever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought upon themselves.

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“Their houses will be burnt, and their villages plundered.

“This proclamation includes all ranks of the people, from the talookdars to the poorest ryots.

“The commander-in-chief invites all the well-disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence.—CLYDE.”

The force of which Lord Clyde took the direct command upon his arrival at Beylah, consisted only of 3,000 men of all arms, composed as follows:—Head-quarters of No. 3 field battery royal artillery, two guns, 63 officers and men; 23rd company royal engineers; head-quarters carabiniers, 217 officers and men; H.M.'s 54th regiment, 501 rank and file; a wing of the 5th fusiliers, 247 rank and file; native artillery, 65; engineers, 78; cavalry, 724; and infantry, 1,130—giving, altogether, a total of 2,778. There were also at Deolie, an outpost with two guns, 68 men of H.M.'s 54th, 28 Pathan horse, and 245 Oude police infantry; and at Leowlie, also an outpost with two guns, there were 50 Pathan horse, 51 of the 54th regiment, and 208 of the 1st Sikh infantry; having with them, also, two heavy guns, and some mortars and colours. A column, under Brigadier Weatheral, at Rampore Russea, was of about the strength of the force at Leowlie; but the one advancing, under Sir Hope Grant, from Sultanpore, was somewhat stronger: and the whole of the force in Oude, when united under Lord Clyde at the opening of the campaign, numbered 11,071 British soldiers, and 9,267 native troops of various descriptions.

In order to enable the columns of Grant and Weatheral to close up, it became necessary to halt for a few days at Beylah; and the delay was also expedient, as affording time to test the effect of the Oude proclamation, which had been scattered over the country by order of the chief commissioner at Lucknow.

On the day following the arrival of the commander-in-chief at the camp, instructions were issued for the guidance of the columns on their march towards Amathie and Rampore, and for the due observance of the amnesty. The principal chief in opposition to the government in this part of Oude, was the Rajah Lall Madho Sing, of Amathie—a Rajpoot of ancient family and large possessions, who had been driven into a state of hostility by the extraordinary conduct pursued towards him by the British authorities. Shortly after the

"annexation" of Oude, followed by what was termed the "re-settlement," a very large portion of the territory of this rajah had been taken from him, and given to a favoured claimant—an act of oppression which naturally excited the ire of the individual wronged. His prejudices had, until then, been with the English; and although he felt aggrieved, still, when the sepoymutiny broke out, he received and sheltered some English fugitives from Salon, and afterwards forwarded them in safety to Allahabad; but at the very time he was thus manifesting his good feeling towards the government, the latter, upon the misrepresentation of some of its servants, and without calling for any proof of their allegations, took for granted that he was a rebel, and forthwith sequestered several lacs of rupees which he had at Benares. Against this injustice he protested, and demanded redress; but the only notice taken of his application was, a summons to come in and surrender himself—thus adding insult to the injury already inflicted; and it was therefore but natural he should now have assumed an offensive attitude. As time wore on, information in better accordance with the facts of the case, came before the governor-general, who, taking the whole circumstances into consideration, authorised Major Barrow, the political agent and special commissioner at the head-quarters' camp, to offer terms, which, by a strange perversion of the sense, were called "liberal and conciliatory," to the offended rajah; who was consequently informed, that if he presented himself and made his submission, either to the chief commissioner or to the commander-in-chief, the government would guarantee him his estates to the full extent they were at the period of annexation; the only conditions being, that his fort must be surrendered, his guns given up, and his followers disarmed. With this intimation of what was required from him, copies of the proclamation and amnesty were also forwarded to the rajah, that their contents might be made known to his followers; and a time was limited within which his submission would be accepted.

Early in the morning of the 5th of November, the vakeel of the rajah came into the English camp with a letter addressed to Major Barrow, in reply to the above-mentioned message. The rajah expressed his delight at the royal proclamation, and his readiness to submit, provided

only that his estates were guaranteed to him, and his religion and honour respected. To the demand for the destruction of his fort, and the disarmament of his followers and surrender of their arms, he rejoined, that his fort had been used to protect Christian men, women, and children, when in danger; and that his arms, which were very few, had been used for the same purpose. He expressed his gratification at the advent of the Queen's rule, and his readiness to obey her; but that he could not submit to relinquish his fort and arms; and he feelingly alluded to the conduct he had hitherto experienced, and to the seizure of his property at Benares, and complained that he had been contemptuously refused any redress or explanation of the matter. Along with this letter to the chief commissioner, there came also one in the form of a petition to the governor-general of India. The rajah had heard that the Lord Sahib had arrived in camp, and imagined that the governor-general himself had crossed into Oude. In the petition, he declared that he had heard of his excellency's arrival with unfeigned pleasure, and that his mind was more at ease in consequence; and he prayed that the governor-general would direct that his fort, his army, his religion, and his honour might be protected. To this, in reply, he was informed, that the terms offered would be adhered to, and that no concession whatever would be made from their requirements. A further time was allowed for consideration; at the end of which, if necessary, his fort would be taken by force, and the terms of the first proposition would be narrowed to death itself. Major Barrow, at the same time, explained to the vakeel the intentions of the government, and sent him back to the rajah.

During the evening of the 7th, the messenger of the rajah again arrived at the camp, with a letter repeating the substance of his appeal to Major Barrow, but now addressed to the commander-in-chief. Before it arrived, however, some heavy guns, escorted by infantry and cavalry, were on their way towards Leowlie, ten miles on the way to Amathie; and a subahdar, who had been sent as a spy to the latter place, reported that there were not more than 3,000 men in it, but that the rajah was evidently determined to defend himself, unless his guns and fort were preserved—or, in other words, "his honour" guaranteed to him. As the *ultimatum* of the commander-in-chief



had already gone in, he determined upon taking no notice of this application, nor would he favour the vakeel of the Rajah Lall Madho Sing with an audience.

At dawn on the morning of the 8th, the columns commenced their march from Beylah toward Amathie, and halted at Dehmah, about twelve miles on the way, when the force encamped. During the evening, messengers came in with more letters from the fort, but they were returned unopened. The march was resumed the following morning at five o'clock; and, by 11 A.M., the troops had reached a plain, which bounded the eastern angle and face of the rajah's position. Here they halted, and pitched their tents within a couple of miles of the fort, the jungle round which could be seen distinctly from a knoll in front of the camp, with a portion of some of the buildings within the walls. About half-past twelve the sound of a heavy gun from the fort, followed immediately by a second, put all upon the *qui vive*, and the excitement was increased by repetitions of the report in quick succession. At this moment Sir Hope Grant, with a small escort, rode into camp to report the arrival of his column to the commander-in-chief, and it was then learnt that the guns heard had been fired upon him as he crossed the plain from his camp. The gallant officer having approached the fort merely to look at it, two guns were opened upon his escort, at 500 yards' distance, which caused them to retreat somewhat precipitately from the dangerous locality. Another letter also arrived from the rajah, who now asked for an indemnity, and for guarantees that the promises made to him should be performed. The reply to this was decisive:—"If the rajah did not come into camp, and make his submission before ten o'clock on the following morning, the British columns would assault the place." Again the vakeel came to Major Barrow, bringing with him a letter, of which the following is a translation:—

*Rajah Lall Madho Sing, of Amathie, to Major Barrow.*

November 9th.

After compliments,—"My vakeel had not come in when the cavalry of the Atiha division neared my fort, and were fired on by the sepoys. When my vakeel returned, I then learnt that you would, at a distance, wait my reply to your proposals, and for this reason you had encamped one koss from the fort. But the cavalry of the division had caused the sepoys to fire on them by advancing so close to the fort. As I have no wish to encounter the troops of the government, I therefore beg for some pledge

from government that I may appear and remove myself to some other British town. The government can do as they please with the fort and cannon."—(Sealed and signed by the Rajah.)

By 1 P.M. of the 9th of November, the three British columns, under Lord Clyde, Sir Hope Grant, and Brigadier Weatheral, respectively, had joined, and pitched their tents on each accessible face of the defences of the fort; and the effect of the demonstration was such, that the rajah, hopeless of maintaining a struggle with the force opposed to him, left the fort, unattended, in the course of the night, and repaired to a village in the immediate neighbourhood, where he awaited a reply to the above letter. Such was the feeling of his people at the treatment he received, that he dared not venture to apprise them of the terms of the negotiation, nor of the proclamation or amnesty.

Major Barrow, who had been informed of his movement, now arranged with the rajah that he should surrender himself before eleven o'clock on the 10th; and on that morning, accompanied by the military secretary to the commander-in-chief, he rode out to the village appointed for the rendezvous, situated about a mile in front of the camp; where the rajah, with two attendants, was waiting on horseback to receive him. The personal appearance of Lall Madho Sing, and his reception at the camp, is thus described:—"He is a square-built, powerfully-moulded man, rather below the middle height. His features are regular, his eyes full and intelligent; his black hair falls in loose locks over his shoulders, from beneath the folds of his turban; and the jet of his bushy moustache, beard, and whiskers, is not streaked by a single gray hair." As he approached the camp, in company with the British commander, the officer of one of the pickets, seeing a small body of horsemen advancing towards his post, mounted his dragoons, and rode to meet them; at which the rajah showed some signs of uneasiness; but the matter was at once explained. Soon, however, the rajah had cause for greater uneasiness. Three vultures, which were gorging themselves with offal in his path, rose with a heavy flapping from the ground. The rajah's horse, a remarkably fine animal, shied violently and fell, throwing his rider to the ground with considerable force, so that the party were obliged to continue their journey to the camp on foot. An occurrence of this kind was calculated to produce the very

deepest impression on the mind of a man, like all Rajpoots, exceedingly superstitious, and a firm believer in all signs and tokens; and his demeanour became very subdued and sullen. His arrival in the camp was not very dignified. The soldiers of one of the English regiments turned out of their tents to look at him; and many of the men, in full undress, followed him into head-quarters' camp; and the camp-followers, syces, grass-cutters, and peons, idling about, swelled the crowd, which thronged the end of the main street of the camp till it was dispersed by the sentries. The rajah, wearing his shoes, entered, with Major Barrow, inside his tent, and then the diplomatic and civil portion of the proceedings commenced. He stated that he had inside his fort 1,500 sepoy of the 15th native infantry and other regiments, and 2,500 of his own followers. These men were all in perfect ignorance of the Queen's proclamation and of the amnesty, as he said he did not dare to acquaint them with the contents of those documents, nor had he given them the least hint of the negotiations with government. In fact, he had left the fort by stealth, and had concealed his surrender from his garrison. So far, therefore, it was impossible to know what course this force would adopt; but the rajah was of opinion that his adherents were strong enough to compel any dissentients to obey his orders; and he declared that he had no doubt he could hand us over the fort, the guns, and the arms of his followers. His vakeel, or minister, was then dispatched to make known to the garrison the fact of the rajah's submission, and the surrender by him of his fort and *matériel* of war. After a long interview, the rajah was taken by Major Barrow to Lord Clyde, who received him in his dinner tent, in the presence of the chief of his staff and one or two officers. The commander-in-chief was rather disappointed when he heard of the real state of the case. The rajah, indeed, had surrendered, and, so far, had complied with the terms granted to him; but his fort was still in the hands of those who might turn out to be dangerous; and some of whom were certainly guilty sepoys, whose escape it was most desirable to prevent. Besides, they might be making use of this time to drag away the guns, and to desert through the dense jungles which enclosed one side of the fort. Still, matters could not be precipitated by attacking the place before the rajah had tested his authority. A promise had been

given not to close in upon Amathie for the day, so that a considerable time would be afforded to the sepoys to take to flight, which, indeed, could not be prevented under any circumstances, as the force was not sufficient to surround the place, one side of which melted, as it were, into a formidable swampy jungle, extending many miles towards the south-west, through which were paths known only to a few natives. When the visit to Lord Clyde was over, the rajah again went to Major Barrow, and messengers were dispatched to the fort with directions for its surrender; but Lall Madho remained in the neighbourhood of the camp with one of his friends, not daring to show himself among his followers.

The messengers dispatched to the fort were not suffered to enter; and as no communication was received from the people there, orders were at length given for the advance of the troops on the following morning; and accordingly, at daybreak on the 11th, the troops of the three columns were paraded, awaiting the order to march. Hour after hour passed away in impatience, the troops standing to their arms; officers, booted and spurred, walking up and down the streets of the camp, asking for news in vain, for news there was none; each man enforcing the reasons why he thought the enemy would fight or would not fight, as the case might be; Major Barrow still confident "it would all be right," other politicals equally positive "it would all be wrong;" and the military and some civilians convinced that it was a mistake to have anything to do with politicals in such matters at all. The rajah's messengers were in the fort, but still no news came from them. The rajah himself was in camp with Major Barrow, but could say nothing, except that he knew nothing. What the sepoys would do he knew not; but he was of opinion they would not fight. At last it was announced, that if the rajah's servants did not return by nine o'clock, the assault would be commenced. Long, however, before that hour arrived—perhaps by half-past seven or so—a Sikh trooper rode into camp with intelligence that the place was evacuated, and that not a soul was to be found within the walls of Amathie but some old men and servants. Orders were then issued for the occupation of the fort; and a party of the 54th regiment, with a troop of the 6th dragoon guards, preceded by a guide and the vakeel



of the rajah, set out from the camp before nine o'clock, for the purpose. The distance from the camp was not more than two miles and a-half; and the place on near approach, and the operations subsequently connected with it and its owner, were thus described by the flying pen of the *Times*' correspondent:—"Having marched a mile or so, the trace of an earthen bank became visible in our front and on our left; but the gaps in the low jungle before it, and in the trees which covered it, only permitted occasional glimpses of the outer works of Amathie. Above the trees, the high walls of a flat-roofed house shone brightly in the sun, and the cupola of a small temple was visible in another direction inside the fort. With the exception of a red flag waving above the trees, and the bare patches of earthen parapet, nothing else could be seen. As we jogged on, however, and inclined more to the right, making a sweep to avoid some marshy ground, two bastions of considerable command, artfully constructed among the trees which grew out of the parapet of the outer defences, could be discerned; and, on getting nearer, it could be ascertained that there were embrasures in the rampart itself, nearly flush with the level of the plain. As this was the first of those famous jungle fortresses we had seen, its outward aspect was examined with eager interest. I confess my impression was, that there was very little to see. The parapet in front of us did not rise more than four feet, at the outside, above the level of the ground; beyond it there was nothing but stunted bushes; and it was very difficult to make out the actual line of the defences at all—only three bastions, or elevated earthen platforms, with embrasures, being discoverable along the front. As we got nearer, there was nothing more to be seen. We passed a deserted village, which had been plundered by the followers of the rajah (so it was said); and then, taking a half turn to the left, advanced directly towards the fort. It is not more than two miles and a-half from the front of our camp. When we had come within about 150 yards of the principal bastion, we perceived that at its base was a pond, or piece of dirty water, about thirty yards across at its broadest, and, on our left, narrowing into the dimensions of a ditch. On our right, where it narrowed in the same way, a ramp of earth crossed it to the top of the ramparts. A flimsy gateway of rough wood guarded the

passage of the ramp, which was about six yards broad, and as many long. The top of the rampart was about the same breadth. We now observed that there was a very deep ditch, in places filled with water, between the rampart and the plain; in fact, a regular ditch, with scarp and counterscarp. It varied in depth from fifteen to twenty-five feet, and seemed to be about twenty feet wide at the top. At the inner face of the rampart (which was formed by the earth thrown up to make the ditch), there was nothing visible but jungle. This inner face was about five feet deep to the *terreplein*, and there was a regular *banquette* for musketry. A space of ten or twelve feet had been cleared away between the base of the rampart and the jungle, in which, shaded by the overhanging trees, lay the bedsteads of the sepoys who had recently garrisoned the place. Their cooking places had recently been used. Some articles of their clothing still lay on the ground; and in one place their chupatties, or wheaten cakes, remained half-baked by the open hearth. Turning along the rampart to the left, the top led us to a gateway in a strong mud wall pierced for musketry, near which rose the bastion, one side of which swept the ramp and the top of the rampart for a couple of hundred yards with its fire. There were no guns to be seen in the embrasures. Sentries were placed on the gate, with orders to let no one out; and a party of the 54th marched into the fort; while the carabinieri were ordered to keep watch and ward outside the exterior wicket. Dismounting, the party of officers proceeded to walk round the rampart towards their right, placing sentries as they advanced. The line of rampart was very irregular; there was no flanking fire whatever. The principal damage to be feared would be from the fire of musketry on assailants at the other side of the ditch, whose heads would be about on a level with the heads of the defenders of the rampart as they aimed through their loopholes. The batteries, such as they were, consisted of small mud works a few feet inside the rampart, and just high enough to carry the fire from the embrasures over it. From these, very narrow paths led through the jungle. The first battery we came on contained a very feeble cohorn mortar in an early stage of infancy, mounted on a primitive and very imbecile carriage. This piece of ordnance did not exceed, I should say, two inches in

diameter; close to it was an old iron 9-pounder, the trail secured with rope. It had been recently discharged, and was, no doubt, the gun from which the sepoys had fired six or seven round shot on Sir Hope Grant's *reconnaissance* two days before, for the cheeks of the embrasure were all blackened with powder. We continued our promenade on the top of the low rampart—the ditch and the open country on our right, the interior of the fort and the jungle on our left—till it struck us that it was rather a foolish thing to leave our horses outside such a fine sunshiny day; and that we might as well have rode. Now and then we came upon zigzags cut in the jungle with great labour, trenches intended for rifle-pits, and wells. At last a small bastion seemed to close up our researches, and we were glad to climb up through the embrasure, where an 8-inch short brass howitzer, laden to the muzzle, and with fresh priming laid, was waiting to receive us. But there was no one to fire it. Descending into the battery by means of the gun, we took a path which led through the jungle, preceded by our guide, and made towards the inner lines of the fort. The jungle was silent and savage as need be. If one of those brutal little bushes but caught a hold of you, how he tore, and scratched, and bled you! We walked on, and on, and on, winding here and there through the walls of sharp verdure—leaves of broken bottles and stems of fish-hooks—till at last we came to a high mud wall, with a battery sweeping the flank of a zigzag approach to a large gateway of wood. The guide knocked and shouted; so did the vakeel. Some one approached from inside; the wicket was thrown open, and in we marched to the inner fort of Amathie. But with the exception of the defences I have mentioned, and the natural strength of the jungle, there was really and truly nothing to give one the idea that an assault of infantry, provided with ladders to cross the ditch, and covered by artillery fire, would not carry the place in ten minutes. The wall round this part of the place was very bad—only one weak bastion was visible. Inside it lay the village or dependencies of Amathie; the palace itself, surrounded by another mud wall, being close at hand before us. The houses of the village were of the usual Indian type—rather worse, perhaps, than usual. The guide pointed out to us a large building

with the ground story open and raised on pillars, which was, he said, the mansion provided by the rajah for strangers. There were some fine bullocks wandering about, looking uneasily for their gun carriages, no doubt. Others were in large cow-yards on our right. Two grayhounds, hearing our voices, leaped out and bayed at us; but presently the clink of sword and spur brought out a few men—the rajah's retainers—to watch the unwelcome intruders. They were sullen, sulky, gloomy, and uncommunicative; and the presence of their master's vakeel scarcely made them respectful. Colonel Harness and most of the party halted to take angles and directions, and indulge in scientific abstractions; while two or three, with less of duty and more curiosity on hand, advanced straight on the gateway of the mud wall around the palace and zenana itself. The sepoy on duty scowled as we entered and passed him. Before us, in one enclosure, about sixty or seventy yards square, stood the rajah's palace, filling one side of the square. On the right was the bare wall; on the left an arched building of brick, not yet finished or cemented; and behind us was the continuation of the bare wall, the gateway, and some storehouses. A tank and well lay in front of us. A kind of dry well served as the chief magazine, but it was empty. The house itself presented a fair *façade*, divided into three parts—the royal fish of Lucknow over the entrance, and fish and cocks ornamenting the battlements. It was covered with white chunam or cement, and shone like marble. In one angle of the court was a child's plaything—a half-pounder brass gun on a carriage; all the arms we saw. Some servants came out, and one led us up by a tall-stepped staircase to the first floor. The divan was plainly carpeted; a large viol or bandoline stood in the corner, and at the end were some cushions. All the valuable furniture had been secreted or removed. The other rooms were plainer still. We mounted to the flat roof and looked out on the jungle, spreading away like a dark green sea, and on the defences of the place. Was this really the fort before which three columns of British soldiers had been assembled for siege and assault? As we were examining the features of the landscape, and determining the localities of our camps, the tramp of men in the courtyard below announced the arrival of our party. The



engineers began to take some angles, and make more observations; the artillery to hunt for stores and munitions of war. Their orders were, 'Break open doors, if locked, and cases—take arms, ammunition, and nothing else.' The doors—for all were locked—soon went merrily; and the arms began to be collected in the open yard in the centre of the house. Tulwars, old flint pistols, two antique fowling-pieces, a few shields, half-a-dozen matchlocks, constituted the arms; but now and then one of our men bowled out a brass shell recently cast and filed—some of eight or nine inches, others of three or four inches diameter. In all parts the artillery continued their search with avidity and care. Boxes of matches for matchlocks were discovered; earthen pitchers filled with bullets; cartridges in no great quantity; and numbers of our Minié and Enfield bullets, which had been flattened and put out of shape from having been fired, and were afterwards picked up by the rebels. While these works were being prosecuted, Lord Clyde, attended by the rajah and Major Barrow, Sir W. Mansfield, and a number of staff officers, rode into the courtyard. His lordship was evidently much displeased. He had heard that only nine guns of all sorts could be found in the fort and works, and he had seen the nature of the latter with his own eyes. The impression was natural that the rajah had been duping him, or was trying to do so. 'Tell the rajah,' exclaimed Lord Clyde with great energy, 'that he *must* produce his guns. Tell him I know he never would have dared to dream of resisting me, aware, as he was, that I had eighty pieces of artillery, if he had not the guns of which we have heard.' Major Barrow explained to the rajah what the chief had said, and sternly accused him of saying that 'which was not.' The rajah seemed uneasy, but affected to believe we had all the guns he ever had. 'Tell him, Major Barrow,' said Lord Clyde, 'that I will keep him prisoner till he produces the guns; I will stand no nonsense.' In fact, the chief had seen that the place could not have stood against us for one hour; and he was naturally irritated at the presumption of the rajah, who had treated his earlier offers with something amounting to insolence. He had a shrewd suspicion, too, that the strict seclusion of the fort all the previous day had been a device to prevent our knowing what

was being done inside while the guns were in the course of removal, and he felt that his forbearance had been met with ingratitude and deceit. Major Barrow could, of course, exculpate himself from any charge on that head; but no doubt the general, as generals in India often have had cause to do, chafed against the restraints imposed on him, and felt that the surrender of the walls of Amathie, without guns or garrison, was but a poor conquest for the commander of such an army. Still the civilians might have been deceived. They might have erred when they fixed the number of guns in Amathie at twenty-two, and finally increased them to thirty. As to the sepoys, there could be no mistake. The rajah himself confessed that 1,500 of them, belonging to thirty or forty different regiments of our old native army, had been in his service. They had run, he said, because they could not believe, in a day or two, that we were going to undo all the rope we had twisted in a year. As to his matchlockmen, they were his own villagers, and he promised to make them bring in their matchlocks. Still Lord Clyde was much dissatisfied. He went into the house, and had the rajah called before him; and there, by the mouth of Colonel Metcalfe, head interpreter and commandant of head-quarters, he administered a verbal castigation to the chief, which made the wily Asiatic turn almost pale with fear and anger. Meantime more stores of war had been found in the palace out-offices—thousands of cannon-shot of all sorts and sizes, some shell, and very few arms. The chief offered to show with his own hands where the magazines were, and led Major Barrow and Major Turner to most artfully constructed powder-magazines in the depth of the jungle. While the rajah, on horseback, was defending himself as well as he could against the accusations preferred with too much show of justice against his good faith, his eye caught the figures of our soldiers wandering through his rooms; he heard the crashing of his doors, the creaking of his hinges, the bursting of his storehouses, and saw his shot and shell, hurled by invisible hands, hopping and clinking from cellars and dark rooms out into the open day in his courtyard. A man stepped out with a velvet *cramoisie* saddle and holsters; but the glance of General Mansfield detected the act, and he ordered the soldier to take it back, and leave it where he had found it. No wonder

the Rajpoot, within whose halls no alien had ever set foot, felt bitterly. Externally, however, he showed little emotion; but once, as a pile of firelocks fell with a crash behind him, he gave a little nervous turn on his horse, and I could see he was making great efforts to conquer his feelings of apprehension and indignation. Again he was pressed on the subject of his guns. With the coarseness which characterises Asiatic *finesse*, now and then he overdid his part. He protested, 'pon honour,' he did not know; and then, with sublime impudence, calling for his head man, requested that he would be good enough to try and recollect how many guns were inside the fort. The vakeel said there were nine—the orthodox number. Major Barrow, however, persisted; and Lord Clyde declared he would keep him prisoner until the guns were produced."

At length, after a considerable degree of trouble, the rajah became convinced that he had no alternative but to yield; and, by the evening, between his admissions and the energetic researches of the artillery, sixteen guns were obtained, still leaving fourteen to be accounted for. Having arrived at this result, the commander-in-chief, who was evidently much disgusted with the proceedings of the day, returned to camp; the rajah remaining with Major Barrow as a sort of hostage for the deficient cannon. Orders were at once given to dismantle and destroy the fort and its defences; and its late owner, now completely humiliated, prayed, as a favour of the government, that he might thenceforth be permitted to reside in some city far away from his desecrated estate, which he desired to place in the hands of the government.

In tracing the incidents connected with the episode in the history of the last campaign in Oude, presented by the story of Amathie, we have slightly trespassed upon the chronological order of events, and must now turn back to some spirited operations at Rampore, by the force under Brigadier Weatheral, while on its way to join the commander-in-chief at Beylah. It has been already observed, that upon the arrival of Lord Clyde at the camp, instructions were dispatched to the commanders of the advancing columns (Brigadier Weatheral and Sir Hope Grant), to avoid any unnecessary collision with the enemy until sufficient time had elapsed to show the effect of the proffered amnesty upon them. As it

happened, the messenger dispatched to meet Brigadier Weatheral, by some mishap did not reach that officer until the evil intended to be averted had occurred, under the following circumstances.

The column under the orders of the brigadier, consisted of the 1st troop of royal horse artillery, a company of foot artillery with siege guns, a party of the 79th highlanders, the Belooch battalion, 9th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Sikh cavalry and Delhi pioneers; and immediately in its line of march to join the head-quarters' division, under the commander-in-chief, lay the important position of Rampore, which consisted of a fort surrounded on three sides by a very strong intrenchment, constructed across the neck of a bend of the river Saye. The fortifications consisted of a line of six bastions, connected by curtains, of a total length of 700 yards; behind which was a kind of citadel; the whole being surrounded by a dense jungle, which concealed a village protected by a small mud fort. The approach to the place was difficult, on account of the jungle being thick and swampy; and, in one place, it became necessary to construct a causeway before the troops could advance. The force arrived before the place at 10 A.M. on the 3rd of November, at which time the strength of the enemy consisted of about 4,000 men, most of them sepoys of the late 17th, 28th, and 32nd native infantry, many of them still wearing the uniform of the government, and carrying its arms. Soon after ten o'clock the heavy guns were put in position, and, under cover of their fire, a wing of the 9th Punjab infantry, under Captain Thelwall, advanced towards the works on the face next the river. Here they were received by a heavy fire of grape; but Captain Thelwall, believing he should achieve a great success by a rapid movement, instead of waiting for his supports, gave the word to his Sikhs to charge, and in a minute those hardy soldiers dashed into the intrenchment, through the embrasures, capturing two guns, which they immediately turned against the flying enemy. The sepoys rallied, and seeing that their assailants were but few in number, made a vigorous attempt to drive them out; but two companies of the 79th, with four companies of the Beloochs, came opportunely to the assistance of their comrades, and the attack was repulsed: but the rebels fought with great bravery, and



disputed the advance inch by inch. A series of hand-to-hand fights ensued; and, in the midst of the struggle, a large mine containing 8,000 lbs. of powder, said to be the principal magazine, blew up, and hurled many of the combatants into the air. Colonel Farquhar, in command of the Belooch battalion, was shot through the knee while bringing up the support, and his leg had to be amputated. The flight continued with unflinching determination on both sides until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy, having made one last and fruitless effort to expel the British troops, gave up the contest, and fled through the jungle, pursued as well as possible by the cavalry. No guns could be sent after them; but in the struggle and flight, the loss of the enemy amounted to 300 men. Upon gaining possession of the fortifications, the captors found seventeen guns and five mortars, most of which were rendered unserviceable; they also discovered a foundry for casting cannon, an establishment for making gun carriages, and a laboratory for gunpowder. The colours of the 52nd native infantry, which had been carried off by the mutinous sepoy, were also captured, and the rebel bearer of them cut down by a Belooch in single combat. The loss on the side of the British force was comparatively trifling; and after dismantling and blowing-up the fortifications, the column pursued its march to join the commander-in-chief at Amathie.

Leaving a garrison in the place last named, Lord Clyde next moved his camp to Kishwapore, on the route to Shunkerpore, the stronghold of Bainie Madhoo (already known to our readers as Beni Madho). Of the position and strength of the enemy the most formidable accounts were current; but it was yet considered possible that the chief might elect to come in under the amnesty, rather than hazard everything by a useless and irritating resistance; and, with a view to ascertain his intentions while the choice was yet open to him, Major Barrow, the political agent at head-quarters, on the 5th of the month (November), addressed to him the following letter from the camp at Oodeypore:—

"The commander-in-chief having received the fullest powers from the governor-general to deal with all insurgents, either by force of arms or treaty, as may seem to his excellency to be right according to the offences and claims to consideration of each individual, sends the proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain to Rana Bainie Madhoo. The rana

is informed, that under the terms of that proclamation his life is secured on due submission being made. The governor-general is not disposed to deal harshly; but Bainie Madhoo must recollect that he has long been a rebel in arms, and but very recently attacked her majesty's troops. He must, therefore, make the fullest submissive surrender of his forts and cannon, and come out at the head of his sepoy and armed followers, and with them lay down his arms in presence of her majesty's troops. The sepoy and armed followers will then be allowed to go to their homes without molestation, each of the former receiving a certificate from the commissioner. When complete surrender and submission has been made, Bainie Madhoo will not have cause to distrust the generosity and clemency of the governor-general; and even his claims on account of estates he may consider himself wrongfully deprived of, may be heard; but, in the meantime, before submission is made, and the arms of the rana, his sepoy and followers, publicly laid down, no treating is allowed by the governor-general. The commander-in-chief warns Bainie Madhoo to lose no time. His columns are closing round the rana, and any delay on Bainie Madhoo's part will deprive him of the benefit of the Queen's mercy, and render it impossible for the governor-general to exercise generosity in his behalf. The fate of himself, of his family, and of his followers, is in his own hands."

Early on the 15th the troops encamped at Kishwapore, about three miles from the outer ditch of the jungle of Shunkerpore; but the commander-in-chief was precluded from immediate advance on the place while waiting the reply to the letter referred to. Sufficient time had certainly elapsed for the purpose; but there was a possibility that it had not reached the hands of the party to whom it was addressed; and the instructions of his excellency were most positive, that no attack should be made on any of the forts of Oude until it had been ascertained that the chief who owned each had received a copy of the Queen's proclamation. During the interval, however, the place was well reconnoitred, and found to be much less formidable than had been represented. The camp of the commander-in-chief was pitched at a line nearly parallel to the east side of the jungle, at a distance of nearly three miles; the column of Sir Hope Grant was encamped at an angle to the right flank of the former, at about three miles' distance, and so arranged as to invest the north-eastern face of the fortification, the south side of which was covered by a dense jungle; and, on the west, a column advancing from Simree, under Brigadier Eveleigh, was calculated upon for co-operation in that direction. Strong pickets of cavalry and guns were thrown out from both camps. And thus matters rested until the night of the 15th, when a messenger

arrived from Shunkerpore with the following letter, professedly from a son of Bainie Madhoo :—

"I have received your excellency's purwannah, and with it the proclamation. I beg to say that I was formerly caboolintdar of this ellaga, and am still in possession of the same; and if the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father, Bainie Madhoo. He is on the part of Birjies Kudr, but I am loyal to the British government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake."

This communication, although from the son, was believed to be the composition of Bainie Madhoo himself, who also sent in, by the bearer of it, a letter to the rajah of Tiloi, then with the camp, and who had recommended Bainie Madhoo to make his submission. In the reply of the latter, he took high ground as a faithful subject of the king of Oude, and told the rajah, that one king was all he could serve, and that he had pledged his fealty to Birjies Kudr, and should not desert him or his cause. The messenger who came in with the letters, and who was also a spy belonging to the English camp, declared that, although from 600 to 1,000 men had deserted from the enemy, there were still 4,000 men and 40 guns within the works. Precautions against surprise were now redoubled: the pickets were warned to be on the alert, as the enemy were said to have upwards of 2,000 horse; and as the night advanced, all, except those who were in advance of the line of tents, retired to rest. About two in the morning, intelligence was received at the camp, that as soon as the moon had gone down the enemy had commenced evacuating their position. The country between Lord Clyde's camp and Shunkerpore was intersected with gullies, and covered with jungle; and as no reliable information could be obtained of the exact route of the enemy, it was judged prudent to remain dormant until daylight, but, in the meanwhile, to send instructions to Sir Hope Grant to take up the pursuit as soon as the track of the rebels could be observed. At daybreak it became evident that Bainie Madhoo had fled, and that his boasted stronghold had been deserted without firing a shot in its defence. The traces of wheels along the outside of the works, showed that the enemy had carried off at least a portion of his guns, and that he had taken a long sweep to the west of Sir Hope Grant's pickets, and marched in the direction of

Roy Bareilly. The advance was then ordered on the fort, and the Beloochs entered and found it quite empty, the bastions disarmed, and the jungles desolate. They were relieved by a wing of the Queen's 5th fusiliers; and Lord Clyde, after a hasty inspection of the place, rode off to overtake Grant's column, and give him instructions for the pursuit of the flying enemy. The appearance of the fort and works, on the morning of the 16th, is thus described :—

"The outer works of the fort consisted of a very deep but narrow ditch, and a low parapet of irregular trace, inside which nothing could be seen but dense jungle. There was no entrance visible till we had ridden southwards about two miles. Several hamlets and villages, quite deserted, lay outside the ditch; and only cats and dogs inhabited the streets. In one there was a small and very handsome Hindoo temple, covered outside with hideous idols. All these villages offered the greatest facilities for resistance in the hands of a determined enemy, and could only have been cleared, in such a case, by very hard fighting or severe vertical fire. Through one of those villages lay the road to the outer fort. A bastion of earth towered above it, but the flanking fire was indifferently directed. The gateway was of bamboo, and opened upon a ramp across the ditch to a strong mud wall, winding over a tortuous street, access through which into the interior was obtained by a wooden gate, of no strength. Inside, the place was somewhat like Amathic, only that the central residence was not so fine. An old Brahmin, very sick, was the sole human being to be met with; an elephant was tied by chains in the courtyard of the fort; gun-bullocks wandered about; and dhoolies, tents, a spring-van, litters, and various stores lumbered the enclosures, which were full also of bedsteads and a few articles of furniture. Only a few old matchlocks could be found after the minutest search; and, as if in mockery, four very small brass guns, mere children's playthings, were laid out in a row in front of one of the verandahs. In the women's apartments, some miserable daubs, left upon the walls, showed the wretched taste of the occupants. Idols abounded in the rooms; some bad engravings, a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, and embossed drawings of wild beasts were hung in the divan, in which were also glass chandeliers, covered with linen bags. In the rooms around the courts,



immense quantities of ghce, nuts, wheat, and corn were found; also a laboratory for making powder, and about 9,000 lbs. of that article, of native manufacture. It is probable that most of the good guns of the forts in Oude were sent into Lucknow, or were captured by Havelock and others in the earlier fights. It is certain that Bainie Madhoo took only nine with him when he fled."

The moment Shunkerpore fell, Brigadier Eveleigh was ordered to follow Bainie Madhoo; and, on the 17th, his column marched to Grinwarra. His instructions were—not to be diverted from the chase, or to lose sight of the flying rebel for a moment, when once up with him. In the pursuit, the men had to pass through the village of Berwa, the inhabitants of which appeared friendly, and, in reply to the inquiries of the officers, assured them there was no enemy near the place; but just as the rear-guard of the column, with the guns, were clearing the village, three guns opened upon it, accompanied by a fire of musketry from the houses. To unlimber, and return the fire with interest—to charge back on the streets, and clear them, was but the work of a few moments; the treacherous rebels were then chased out of the place, leaving their guns, and flying in the direction of a village fort called Simree, on the way to which they were intercepted by a strong rear-guard under Major Mills, which opened upon them with its horse artillery guns, and drove them from the Simree road to the south-west in great disorder.

Having placed a small force in the fort of Shunkerpore, the column of the commander-in-chief marched from its camping-ground at Kishwapore, at 8 P.M. of the 18th of November; and, after effecting a junction with Colonel Bulwer's force from Poorwah, reached Grinwarra at ten on the following morning, when spies confirmed the intelligence already received, that Bainie Madhoo had fallen back towards Dhoondia Kera. In order to facilitate Eveleigh's pursuit of the rebel, Lord Clyde relieved him of all his heavy guns, and took them with his own to Roy Bareilly. The whole of the 20th was occupied, at that place, in making necessary arrangements: the sites for various camps were determined upon; and at midnight the troops again marched forward. The appearance of Roy Bareilly, at this time, was thus described:—"It was long after three o'clock in the morning before we

were clear of the wonderful labyrinth of deserted streets and tottering loopholed keeps, barbicans, portals, and battlemented walls, which bear witness to the former greatness of Bareilly. The crenelated and turreted walls seemed, in the moonlight, of great solidity and of great height. The city is but a collection of feudal castles, old baronial forts of the nobles of Oude—at the base of which, and in the adjacent spaces, is a stratum of hovels, perforated by tortuous narrow paths, and surrounded by the noble old wall. Scarcely a living being came forth to look at our noisy array as it passed on. Hate and fear lived within those dark dwellings. When we first approached, all the people fled. Some of them had consciences guilty of blood; for here had British officers been murdered."\*

About noon the troops halted at Bocharaon, about twenty-two miles from Roy Bareilly; and, as they were much fatigued by the long march, they were allowed to remain there until daybreak on the 22nd, when the order to advance was given, and by nine o'clock they had reached Khanpore or Terha, on the river Saye, which they had to cross by a difficult ford. As soon as this was accomplished the tents were pitched, and the troops rested until 3 P.M., when a message from Brigadier Eveleigh reported that the enemy had fallen back upon Dhoondia Kera. The troops were again in motion, and, marching rapidly through an extremely beautiful country, reached Oonaie, in the Byswarrah, or Rajpoot country, at nightfall. On the morning of the 23rd, a march of seventeen miles to Bugwunt Nuggur, eight miles from Dhoondia Kera, was accomplished; and the tents of Brigadier Eveleigh's division were seen. Lord Clyde at once rode forward with General Mansfield, and had a short conference with him; the men of the 20th and 23rd regiments turning out as the commander-in-chief rode by, and saluting him with hearty cheers. The tents of the column were then pitched on the right of Eveleigh's left flank; and, at night, a patrol of 400 infantry, two guns, and a body of cavalry, was pushed close up to the enemy's position, which was about seven miles in front. The men, who had marched sixty-one miles in sixty hours, were in the highest spirits. Before dawn the bugles sounded the *reveille*; and while the men were getting to their feet, a spy (an old subahdar) rode into the lines from the camp of the

\* See vol. i., p. 174.

enemy, and reported that he had been talking with the sepoy, and heard them discussing their chances. He said—"The sepoy don't know what to do. They are afraid to lay down their arms, because they do not believe their lives will be spared; yet a part of them are much disposed to surrender; while others declare they will fight till they die." The troops were now in motion: the commander-in-chief, after giving instructions to the commissariat officers for the safety of the camp, mounted, and threading his way through a tangled maze of men and animals, and followed by the chief of his staff and officers, reached the front of the camp, where the troops were already moving off in columns of march. After a short distance had been covered in a cloud of dust, the columns were halted, and the infantry were ordered to load, and again proceeded onward. As they marched, spies from the enemy's camp reported, that the rebels under Bainie Madhoo and Oomra Sing (his general), numbered 7,500 horse and foot, having with them eight guns, and that they occupied Buxar Ghât on their right, and Dhoondia Kera on their left, extending for about two miles. It was also stated that they had thrown up an intrenchment in front of the jungle which covered their position, and occupied in force the whole of the intermediate lines.

The following descriptive sketch of the engagement that ensued, is from the pen of Mr. Russell, who accompanied the headquarters' division:—"Our advance was on two parallel lines, connected in front by a line of skirmishers in communication along the front of both columns. That on the left, led by the commander-in-chief, consisted of a squadron of H.M.'s 6th dragoon guards (carabiniers), and a squadron of the 6th Madras light cavalry; four guns of Gordon's field battery; H.M.'s 5th fusiliers, about 400 strong; the Belooch battalion, 700 strong; and 100 of H.M.'s 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers. The column on the right, under Brigadier Eveleigh, consisted of 200 of H.M.'s 20th regiment, 250 of H.M.'s 80th regiment, and a battalion of Oude police, 500 strong; their flank being covered by four guns of Bruce's troop, B.H.A., and 300 of the 1st Sikh irregular cavalry.

"Presently we came up to our grand patrol of the night before—200 of the 23rd regiment, about the same strength of natives, cavalry detachment, and two of Bruce's guns. They reported that, during

the night, the enemy's cavalry and infantry had approached their pickets, and fired on them, using at the same time the most opprobrious epithets; and as the corn was very high, and the country close, the patrol fell back about a mile and a-half to more open ground, having first sent the enemy to the rear by the fire of a small party of sharpshooters. According to them, the enemy were out in great force in our front, and they had seen them an hour before. Indeed, at the time, a picket of their sowars was visible under a tope on our right. Here were groves of trees affording shade; and so a general halt took place for about half-an-hour or more. Major Barrow had resolved to give the rebel chief one more chance. The subahdar had volunteered to go with a letter or message, to the effect that if Bainie Madhoo and his followers came out and laid down their arms, they would be treated with leniency, as far as their case might permit the government to exercise its prerogative of mercy. The utmost specific promise that could be held out to Bainie Madhoo was, that he should not be sent out of India. This proposition was founded on the information brought by the subahdar, respecting the disposition of the sepoy when they were made acquainted with Major Barrow's letter of the previous evening; and it was intimated that only half-an-hour would be allowed for a reply. We were now within three miles of the enemy's position; and the columns of dust from our march must have been visible to their advanced posts. The time given had run by. 'Give orders to the columns to advance.' 'Skirmishers to the front.' Away went the carabiniers, saddle deep in the corn—the Beloochs on the left, and on their right the 23rd, in skirmishing order, two and two, following; the rest of the troops in the disposition already indicated. As we advanced, the country became more densely wooded, and the arable lands more cultivated. The movement was necessarily not very rapid, as it would have been impossible to keep the two columns properly connected in such difficult ground, had the men gone on continuously through stubble fields, cates of dhâl, high grass, trees and patches of jungle, without reference to their front. Before us, through the openings in the topes, we saw a dense belt of forest, beyond which there arose another belt at a distance, with a bluish haze between them. The first was



the girdle of Dhoondia Kera and Buxar; the other is the wooded horizon, on the other side of the Ganges, the course of which is indicated by the blue haze. Our troops are just emerging from the tops and cates; and in their front the country is more open for a few hundred yards up to a mass of low jungle, in front of the belt of trees. Some twenty or thirty puffs of white smoke suddenly dot the green of the jungle. The enemy are firing on our cavalry videttes. Some of the carabinieri reply, and then, by command, fall back towards the front, with capering horses, excited by the fire, and form on the flanks. Lord Clyde, who is leading the infantry skirmishers, rides forward. The Beloochees, the 23rd, and the long line of infantry skirmishers double towards the jungle; and, as they advance, the line of a low intrenchment is made manifest by a smart fire. 'Those are sepoys inside the ditch—the ——— scoundrels!' exclaims an Indian officer. The balls whistle sharply enough around the heads of the advance, and the soft sandy soil of the field is knocked up in all directions in little cloudy jets where the bullets strike. There is one solitary rising ground in this field, whither Lord Clyde, mounted on his tall white horse, dashes at once; and up on its top he soon gets, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He instantly receives a volley from the hidden enemy, of which he appears as conscious as if it were fired at Aldershot. But our skirmishers have advanced to the wall of the field, and their rifles soon abate the zeal of the sepoys in the trench. 'Bring up the guns!' to one aide-de-camp. 'Go to Colonel Eveleigh, sir, and tell him to bring forward his right,' to another. Now is the time to see the old soldier in his element; every sense alive, keen, energetic, self-reliant, calm, and courteous. He directs every movement, and points out the ground for the guns to take. We unlimber. Bang! bang! roar the enemy's guns in anticipation; and the round shot, flying over the heads of the advance with a harsh roar, strike into the earth behind. The answering voices are not long delayed. Gordon's guns are opened on the tiny lines of smoke and on the great puffs from the batteries. 'Press on the advance.' The chief gallops on to the skirmishers. The guns limber up. The musketry is sharp on our right, mingled with the heavy reports of artillery. Clouds of dust rise near the bank of the

river. 'They are flying! Up with the cavalry! The guns to the front.' Away in one great wave flash the carabinieri to our left, where we can see the enemy streaming down by the river banks, towards the south. It is a dust storm. In a few moments they are lost in the dense cloud which rises from their horses' hoofs. Our men rush on through the jungle; it is deserted by all but dead or dying men—'Double! double! bring up the infantry at once!'

"In a few minutes more we are on the very banks of the river, which slope down sharply to the water. Where are the enemy? Stand on the beach at low water, and see how, far away, a sort of rippling and wavering outline marks the limit of the sands; it will almost persuade you that it moves and lives. So we behold a shifting outline on the horizon on our right. It is the enemy, flying through the island rushes. 'Horse artillery and cavalry, after them!' Round come Bruce's guns—down the bank they go—slap through the narrow ford, throwing tiny cascades from their wheels. Round came the storm of cavalry, native horse, and a troop of carabinieri. 'Keep your men with the guns, sir, and on no account leave them,' is the parting order of the commander-in-chief to the officer before they dash into the ford. To the commander of the native cavalry his orders are different—'You are to stick to them to the last; follow them close; don't give up the pursuit till to-morrow!' Away they go over the sand, through the bushes and tall grass, and soon they, too, are lost in clouds of dust. The river spreads before us a wide expanse of sand, threaded by narrow streams at this side, with a wider current at the opposite side, where we can make out our cavalry from Futtehpoore riding to intercept the fugitives who may escape by swimming. Close to us there is a long strip of sand covered with long grass and jungle, which seems to extend inlandwise for miles up the river. The enemy have fled in that direction. We see their tumbrils on fire, or deserted. Their waggons are stuck fast in the quicksands. It is the work of a minute to plunder them. The commander-in-chief halts on the bank of the river, and, with the chief of the staff, makes arrangements for the pursuit and for the occupation of the place. One column on the right carried Dhoondia Kera just as we reached Buxar Ghât; and the enemy fled on both

flanks, aided by the tremendous ravines in escaping pursuit. The infantry of Eveleigh's column, detachments of H.M.'s 20th, 23rd, and 80th regiments, marched in quarter-distance column, their right flank covered by two of Bruce's guns, and the 1st Sikh irregulars, under Captain Jones. On the second advance, the 20th regiment deployed and moved in extended order, with the 80th on the right, and the 23rd on the left in support. They thus made way through the corn and thickly-wooded country till they had approached within a mile and a-half of the river. Here a body of 400 or 500 cavalry, consisting principally, it is said, of the 2nd cavalry, who were the chief actors in the Cawnpore mutiny, appeared on their right front. Colonel Eveleigh at once brought up the disposable guns of Bruce's troop, supported by cavalry, and a few rounds sent them to the right-about; nor were they any more seen in the field. The infantry continued to advance, and were close up to the edge of the jungle, when they were suddenly made aware of the proximity of the enemy by discharges of grape and a sharp fire of musketry, all too high. The 20th pressed on smartly, and fought their way through the jungle; while the 80th cleared the ground before them, up to the very banks of the Ganges. That immediately over the river in their front was steep, and the water above the ford was beyond one's depth. At this moment a body of the enemy, cut off from the ford below, endeavoured to escape to the right, across the line of advance. They were about 500 strong, and the fugitives from our advance were mixed up with them. The moment the men saw them they gave a loud cheer, dashed at the broken mass with the bayonet, and either drove them into the river, where most of them were drowned, or killed them in the jungle, in various parts of which more than 250 dead were counted. The 20th took the Queen's colour of the 52nd Bengal native infantry, which was also one of the Cawnpore regiments. It is thought that many of the sepoys threw themselves into the Ganges to secure immortality: at least they were very leisurely in their retreat through the water. A few who did not like immortality just at the time, struggled to get away; and some succeeded. As I was not present at the right, I know less of what took place there than of the left. Bruce's guns and cavalry followed for ten miles

on the right. The enemy were quite done up; but so were our horses and men, and we did not kill more than fifty or sixty of them on that side. The sepoys were seen staggering away into eates, unable to load their muskets; and seven elephants were perceived in the distance, but they could not be overtaken. On the left, the carabiniers cut up about fifty sepoys; but the ravines effectually checked the advance of the guns, and the men were recalled by Major Norman. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 600 to 650.

"Among the captured ordnance, which numbered seven pieces, we found, rather to our astonishment, a fine 9-pounder brass gun, belonging to one of our batteries, and cast at Cossipore. The rest of the guns consisted of one brass 6-pounder, one brass 4-pounder, and four iron 6-pounders—for which there was no deficiency of ammunition; for two large tumbrils of made cartridges were found near the ghaut, and some smaller ones had been blown up by the enemy. The cartridges were made with shot and powder in the same bags. As to small-arm ammunition, there seemed to be a dearth. Many of the firelocks had flintlocks; others were old percussion regulation; some were matchlocks. But the new muskets and rifles were generally carried away. Either from one of the guns, or from their muskets, the enemy discharged pieces of jagged iron. In Shunkerpore, lengths of iron rail were found, which bore marks of the sledge-hammer, as though they had sought to break it into junks; and the value they set on it was proved by the labour they must have employed in bringing a rail from the river so far inland.

"The men, who had marched sixteen or seventeen miles, returned to their camp, which had been moved three or four miles nearer to Dhoondia Kera. Our chief enemy had gone down south-east; but hearing of the force at Dalamow, had turned northwards. On the 25th, Gordon, with his guns and a small column, was dispatched in pursuit; but the enemy were now reduced to cavalry."

The enemy being thus effectually routed from his positions, Lord Clyde now considered it desirable to visit Lucknow, which he reached with his troops on the morning of the 28th of November; and before noon on that day, part of his camp was pitched on the left bank of the Goomtee, opposite



the Chuttur Munzil, a portion of the force being halted at the Alumbagh, to avoid the unnecessary fatigue of a long march through the streets of the town.

The beneficial effect produced by the promulgation of the terms of the amnesty among the people of Oude was soon apparent; although, on the part of the begum and her adherents, no means were neglected that might counteract the influence which the proclamation of the Queen of India was likely to acquire over the temper and cool reflections of the people. Among other expedients to this end, the following counter-proclamation of the begum was extensively circulated, not only through the distant provinces of Oude, but even in the capital itself, although now completely at the mercy of its captors:—

[Translation by Order].

*Proclamation by the Begum of Oude.*

"At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people, have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindostan. This appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying custom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small; so much so, that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence, they never forgive it. The proclamation of the 1st of November, 1858, which has come before us, is perfectly clear; and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, parents of the people of Oude, with great consideration, put forth the present proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects placed on their guard.

"1. It is written in the proclamation, that the country of Hindostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future the Queen's laws shall be obeyed. This is not to be trusted by our religious subjects; for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the governor-general, and the judicial administration of the Company, are all unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which they can rely?

"2. In the proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. Let the people carefully observe this artifice. The Company has seized on the whole of Hindostan, and, if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it? The Company professed to treat the chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the chief of Lahore was carried off to London, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshooddeen Khan, on one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they salaamed to him; the Peishwa they expelled from Poona Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well known; the rajah of Benares they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the chief of Gwalior, they introduced

English customs; they have left no names or traces of the chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furruckabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory—Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehpoore, &c. Our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more from us. If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, what is the difference between the former and the present state of things? These are old affairs; but recently, in defiance of treaties and oaths, and notwithstanding that they owed us millions of rupees—without reason, and on pretence of the misconduct and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty and devotion of life and goods as we have done. What, then, is wanting that they do not restore our country? Further, it is written in the proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the government, why does her majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion; all were forgiven; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindostan; for so long as the word 'punishment' remains, the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well-known proverb—'A dying man is desperate' (*Murta kya ne karta*). It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million, and the thousand escape.

"3. In the proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of religion? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulmen nor Hindoos—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs and drink wine—to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats—to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads—to build churches—to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion—to institute English schools, and to pay a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

"4. It is written in the proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors of murderers shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. Any foolish person can see, that under this proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape. Everything is written, and

yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not let off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted, the inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted—that all subjects who may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st of January next, present themselves in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven them, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this proclamation it is only necessary to remember that Hindostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.

"5. In this proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the proclamation.—[A true translation].

"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude."

The chief interest of the war, towards the end of November, appeared to centre in the movements of Tantia Topce, who, it will be remembered, had been driven across the Nerbudda on the 31st of October, by the troops under Brigadier Parke and Lord Mark Kerr.\* The rebel chief had not, however, much chance of rest for his weary and dispirited troops by this manœuvre; and, on the 23rd of November, intelligence of the rapid approach of British columns from the east, south, and west, induced him to evacuate Kurgoon, in the Satpoora hills, where he had for a short time established his quarters, first plundering and burning the town. He then directed his march towards Burwanee, a ford of the Nerbudda, which he hoped to cross unmolested, and to enter Guzerat unobserved. His movements were, however, watched; and he had scarcely commenced his march, when a column under Major Sutherland, consisting of detachments of the 71st and 93rd highlanders, on camels, and a hundred of the 4th rifles, on foot, were close upon his track. They marched through the bullock station of Thau, on the Bombay road, which had been only a few hours before destroyed by the enemy. Here it was soon determined which way the rebels had gone, and an eager and hot pursuit commenced. On the afternoon of the 25th of November, after a rapid march of fourteen miles, the

column overtook the enemy's rear-guard, and cut them up for a considerable distance. Tantia, finding an engagement inevitable, drew up his army in line of battle upon some convenient heights; but seeing the steady advance, and evidently miscalculating the strength of his opponents, after a good deal of ineffective firing, he rapidly retired. He was, however, closely followed by the mounted highlanders, and his rear-guard again suffered severely. On reaching the bottom of the heights of Rajpore, Major Sutherland found the enemy once more in battle array, prepared to receive him. The number of the rebels amounted to about 3,000 men of all arms; while Major Sutherland's force now consisted only of 150 highlanders, 100 of the 4th rifles, and 150 Sanduce sowars. As soon as the troops came within range, the enemy opened fire from their guns, which were in position to command a narrow road with impenetrable jungle on either side; their infantry keeping up a brisk fire from the thickets in front. Major Sutherland, seeing how matters stood, at once gave orders for his force to advance and capture the guns at the point of the bayonet. The troops pressed forward with a cheer, the shots whizzing over their heads as they advanced through the narrow pass; and almost in a moment the guns were in their possession. Tantia Topce, seeing that resistance was unavailing, even with the overwhelming odds in his favour, gave the order for retreat; and, in consequence of Major Sutherland possessing no cavalry, he was enabled to recross the Nerbudda, and enter Guzerat. His loss, however, was severe, and the only two guns he possessed were captured. But few casualties occurred on the side of the British. After the engagement, Sutherland's detachment returned to Mhow, and Brigadier Parke's column, on its way from Kurgoon, took up the pursuit, crossing the Nerbudda at the Burwanee ford. Had the engagement at Rajpore been but a day later, this fine body of men would have arrived on the scene of action. It consisted of one troop of the 8th hussars; Kerr's horse; 300 of the Guzerattee horse; the Guicowar's contingent and body-guard, under Captain Buckle; 50 sabres 2nd light cavalry; two 9-pounders from Aitkin's battery; and 100 of the 73rd highlanders, mounted on Sanduce camels. With the most indefatigable zeal and enduring fortitude, they had followed Tantia from

\* See ante, p. 515.



the moment of his first crossing the Nerbudda; and their rate of march had never been less than twenty-eight miles per day, with no halts. They were, however, unable to overtake him. He burnt and sacked Kundwa, and marked the line of his march with fire and sword; but, being in advance, and having the choice of horses and carriages in the country through which he passed, Brigadier Parke found it almost an impossibility to come up with him. He nevertheless still pressed onward, and continued a march unparalleled for its severity in the operations of the army in India, until he came up with, and again signally defeated, the enemy; who, in accordance with his usual practice, once more sought safety in flight.

The progress of Brigadier Parke's little band, across a difficult country, had been little other than marvellous. In nine days he had marched 241 miles, in continuous pursuit of Tantia, who, after his defeat by Major Sutherland, had himself marched sixty miles without stopping, mounting all his men on fresh horses, which he seized in the villages on his road, and exchanged for his own tired ones. Day by day, Parke's force reduced the distance betwixt himself and the rebels; and he at last caught them on the 1st of December, near Chota Oodeypore, about fifty miles east of Baroda. The last forty miles lay through dense jungle, through which Lieutenant Moore led with the Aden horse. On the morning of the battle, this energetic officer signalled himself by surprising Tantia Topee's cavalry pickets. When the force issued from the jungle, they debouched within 600 yards of the enemy, 3,500 strong, outside of Oodeypore, on ground full of large trees, brushwood, and huts, and so broken as to be utterly unsuited for the movements of cavalry and artillery. Parke deployed with his infantry and guns in the centre, the Southern Mahratta horse on his left, with Moore's Aden horse and some of Lord Mark Kerr's Southern Mahratta horse on his right. The enemy, by his numbers, quite outflanked the column, which hardly covered 200 yards. The guns opened at 600 yards, and the enemy then attempted to outflank the column with their cavalry, both on the right and left. They were met on the right by a brilliant charge from the Southern Mahratta and Aden horse, and were driven from the field with the loss of sixty killed, and more wounded,

and were sabred for five miles. On the left a similar attempt met with a like fate; and Lieutenant Bannerman cut up and drove the enemy into the Orsung river, killing, with his own hand, four men opposed to him, but being himself slightly stunned with a blow from the butt-end of a musket. Mr. Ramsay (civil service) also led a spirited charge, and cut up a number of the rebels. The Southern Mahratta horse captured the standard of the 5th Bengal irregular cavalry. The artillery and Enfields, of course, committed great havoc amongst the ranks opposed to them. The rebels, who separated after the action into three bodies, were rallied by Tantia Topee, and marched on to Baroda; but he was turned from thence by a force sent out against him by Sir Richmond Shakespear. On the 5th, the chief passed Dohud, at a place called Simree, on his way to Khooshallghur, intending to move through Bunswara to Oodeypore. On the 8th, he marched to Bunswara, where he arrived on the 9th—thus covering nearly sixty miles in twenty-four hours. But his men reached Bunswara in such a plight, that he was obliged to take a day's rest. Frightened, however, by the approach of Colonel Somerset towards Rutlam, which lay on his right, he left Bunswara on the 11th for Soloomber, on the direct road, through the mountains, to Oodeypore.

After the battle just described, the following brigade order was issued to the troops by their justly gratified commander:—

“British Camp, Chota Oodeypore, 2nd Dec.

“Brigadier Parke congratulates the troops under his command, on the successful result of yesterday's engagement with the rebel army under Tantia Topee and the Rao Sahib. The troops not only displayed great gallantry and steadiness when exposed to the enemy, but during the fatigue of the late forced marches, their discipline, perseverance, and cheerfulness have been most conspicuous. In the last seven days, between the mornings of the 23rd November and daylight of the 1st of December, they have marched upwards of 200 miles, in part through the densest jungles; effected the passage of the Nerbudda river; and without the co-operation or assistance of other troops in front or flank, have outmarched in pursuit, and defeated, an enemy notorious for the rapidity of its movements. The brigadier's thanks are due to all officers and men; but particularly to Lieutenant Heathorn, of the Bombay artillery, whose whole conduct and exertion in overcoming every difficulty during the late laborious operations, shall be brought to the notice of the commander-in-chief.”

Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the movements of Tantia Topee were necessarily made, he found time and opportunity

to distribute the following notifications to the inhabitants of the districts through which he passed:—

*Proclamation of Maharajah Rao Sahib, Peishwa Bahadur.*

"Let it be known to all people, to the gentry, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and the military of every city, town, and village, that the army bearing the standard of victory, accompanying his highness the head of government, has marched in this direction, only for the destruction of the infidel Christians, not for the spoliation of the resident inhabitants.

"Let every one know this—that this army, buoyed on the waves of victory, is at enmity with the English, not with the native cultivators of the soil. It has never been the intention of any one in this force to cause loss to the villagers and residents of the country through which we pass; but it is evident that daily supplies must be had, more especially when an enemy is in our front: some villages have been looted, through the folly of the inhabitants in leaving their homes. Then, not being able to purchase, my followers have taken what was necessary for their sustenance. If the villagers had remained in their houses, and sold their grain, &c., then no outrage nor robbery would have taken place. They have reaped the reward of their own foolishness. Now this proclamation is put forth, that no villager shall leave his home on the approach of this army, but, producing the supplies there may be, receive the fair price of the same. Beyond the current rate a price shall be fixed. When the proclamation reaches any village, the head man thereof should send a copy of it to the adjacent villages, that fear may be dispelled.—Dated the 7th of November, 1858, 30th Rubbee-ool-aval."

*Perwannah addressed to the Officers of Artillery, the 5th Regiment, the Cavalry of the Nawab of Kamoonah, the Forces, Horse and Foot, and the Bengal Presidency, the Morar and Gwalior Forces, and the Troops of the Nawab of Jaora.*

"As it is the custom of sowars and sipahees of this force constantly to press women to carry loads, and this practice is undesirable; this is to warn such, and you are requested to intimate it publicly to the troops under your command, that women are not to be forced to accompany the camp, either as porters or for any other purpose. Any one disobeying this order will be hanged. Officers are requested to affix their signatures as noting the receipt of this order.—Dated 5th November, 1858, 28th Rubbee-ool-aval."

On the 5th of December, a large body of rebels, augmented by many of the fugitives from Biswa, and variously estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 men, led by Feroze Shah (a shahzadah of Delhi), eluded the vigilance of the British troops, by moving along the banks of the Ganges, and crossing that river at Auken Ghât, between Cawnpore and Kanouj, without opposition. The first ghât they had attempted was at Nana Mhow; but there being a great deal of water there, and the police turning out to confront them, the rebels moved westward to Auken Ghât, where they succeeded

in crossing. The police watched their movements along the right bank; but as the river was very shallow at this place, the cavalry had passed over before they could get up with them. While the rebel force was crossing, the combined columns of Troupe and Barker, which had joined on the 3rd of December, were proceeding to the Chowka river, in accordance with the arrangements of the commander-in-chief, for finally reducing the strong fort of Bitowlee, situate at the confluence of the Chowka and Gogra. Lord Clyde had again left Lucknow on the 5th of December, for Beyram Ghât, a short distance below Bitowlee Ghât, on the Gogra; and General Grant was, at the same time, in position at Gonda, about twenty miles east of Beyram Ghât: so that everything was apparently arranged for the appearance of an overwhelming force before Bitowlee. But while these movements were taking place, Feroze Shah observing his opportunity, resolved to make a dash into the Doab, and, if possible, effect a junction with Tantia Topee in Central India. The idea was a wild one; but his situation was desperate; and, as we have seen, his first step was successfully accomplished. When the shahzadah had thus reached the Doab, there was no one to oppose him except Captain Sullivan, with 250 of the Cawnpore levy, and the civil authority at Sheorajpore, with fifty police infantry and twenty sowars. As soon as Captain Sullivan was apprised of the approach of the rebels, he communicated with the civil officer of the station, who at once wrote to Brigadier Herbert for assistance, and then joined Sullivan, proceeding with him down the Trunk road to Eesun Nuddee, within two miles of the rebels. As the latter had then all crossed, and were reported 2,000 strong, mostly cavalry—to attack them with 250 men of a new levy, and a mere escort, was of course out of the question, and they therefore withdrew for about a mile to a convenient spot. In the meantime the rebels commenced their march across the country, and, leaving Russoolabad on their left, sacked Bela, from whence they took the road to Suhpoond. Mr. Hume, magistrate of Etawah, hearing of their approach, on the evening of the 6th marched towards Suhpoond, but could hear no tidings of them till late on the evening of the 7th, when he learnt that they had plundered Bela, and were besieging the fort of Hurchundpore, close to the Ahmee, a tributary



of the Urrund Nuddee. It was, therefore, necessary to advance against them at all hazards. Accordingly, on the morning of the 8th, 400 men of all arms, Etawah levies, led by Lieutenants Forbes, Hume, Doyle (commanding the cavalry), and Maconchie, marched on Hurchundpore. About a mile from that place the enemy's outlying pickets were surprised and driven in. The rebel cavalry appeared in front in large masses. The guns unlimbered and opened fire. Mr. Hume's small force was soon out-flanked; and Lieutenant Hume, in a charge made to repel the attack, lost his life, with that of several of his men. The rebels then charged the guns, but were repulsed, and ultimately abandoned the field, leaving Mr. Hume to rally his men and retire into Hurchundpore. Meanwhile, Brigadier Herbert had marched from Cawnpore, and, on the 10th instant, encountered the rebels at Shergurh Ghât. Upwards of 70 of them were killed; and 400 horses and 50 camels, with a quantity of arms and baggage, were captured. They nevertheless managed to cross the Jumna, but the lesson they received was a very severe one. On the morning of the 11th they crossed the Chumbul to Paplallee, and on the morning of the 12th they had reached Tengoor, on the Scinde river. On the morning of the 13th they crossed the Doobai, where they burnt the bungalow, and then proceeded southwards. The repulse, however, which they afterwards sustained at the hands of Brigadier Napier, checked their advance; and as the British columns were rapidly closing around them, their descent upon Central India proved ineffectual. Brigadier Napier's engagement at Runnode was a very spirited affair, in which the 14th dragoons behaved with great gallantry. The column reached Runnode at half-past eight on the morning of the 17th of December, having travelled 140 miles in four days. It consisted of Prettejohn's and Need's troops; 14th dragoons, 150 men; Captain Monith's Mahratta horse; 100 of H.M.'s 71st highlanders; 38th, under Captain Smith; and Captain Sampler's sowarree camels. At 9 A.M. the rebels, apparently more numerous than had been reported, advanced to attack Runnode; but instead of meeting Seebundies, as they anticipated, H.M.'s 14th dragoons emerged from behind a grove of trees, and charged into the mass. The pursuit continued over a good plain for eight miles,

with great slaughter. Numbers of Holme's irregulars, including Rissaldar Yahooor Alli, were killed; also several persons of distinction, but none that looked like Feroze Shah. Six elephants were captured, with numbers of horses, and ponies, and arms. Captain Prettejohn, 14th dragoons, and eight or ten men wounded, were the only casualties on the part of the English.

After his defeat at Chota Oodeypore, on the 1st of December, Tantia, as we have seen, made a rapid march towards Dohud and Biswarra, apparently with a view of reoccupying his old ground towards Mundesore. On his way he plundered the mails between Ghudna and Ahmedabad, killing several of the letter-carriers; and then made a demonstration towards Rutlam—a flourishing town between Biswarra and Oojein, and nearly equi-distant from both. This place had a population of about 10,000; and its plunder would have afforded a rich harvest for the lawless followers of the rebel, but that he was obliged to forego the prize, on learning, much to his disappointment, that three separate forces from different points, under Colonel Somerset, Colonel Bayley, and Brigadier Parke, were very likely, in a few hours, to inclose him as it were in a net. Turning, therefore, with his accustomed celerity of action, he fled in the direction of Saloombar—an isolated town and fort, encircled by hills, in the heart of the Aravulli range, which forms the western buttress of the plateau of Central India; and from this position he was enabled to menace the city of Oodeypore, and at the same time avoid an immediate collision with the British commanders. In his flight he was accompanied by a nephew of the Nana Sahib, styled the Rao; but the nawab of Banda was no longer present in his camp to strengthen his resolves by his advice and his forces, as he had some time previous surrendered under the amnesty. It is related of the latter chief, that when brought into the camp of General Michel, by the officer to whom he had surrendered, he appeared "weary, dirty, and debauched;" and that, on his arrival, he was speedily relieved from the weight of some 30,000 rupees' worth of jewels, &c., which were thought unnecessary personal ornaments for a resident in the Andamans, whither it was expected he would be transferred. Before this chief cast in his lot with the rebels, his annual income amounted to £40,000 sterling per annum. He was now without a rupee; his territory

confiscated; and his very existence dependent upon the application of the amnesty to his particular case.

The erratic and, so far as *escape* was concerned, successful movements of Tantia Topce were not without mischievous influence in the Nizam's dominions, where they kept alive an unsettled feeling. His late operations on the frontiers had also given encouragement to the audacity of the Rohillas, and caused some sensation even in Hyderabad itself. The neighbourhood of Jaulnah had also long been infested by plundering bands, which rendered the country so unsafe, that when Sir Patrick Grant, the commander-in-chief at Bombay, desired to proceed on his tour of inspection, he was obliged to place himself in care of a wing of her majesty's 91st regiment. The important town of Gungakhair, on the Godavery, within the Nizam's territories, was also plundered by the Rohillas, who could only be kept in check by a large demonstration of European troops from Monianabad. At length the uneasy state of feeling in this quarter was attended by an event that recalled to memory some of the outrages perpetrated in the early days of the sepoy revolt. On the evening of the 1st of December, while some European officers of the Nizam's contingent, stationed at Ellichpore—a military station, between Nagpore and Asseerghur—were assembled at mess, shortly after gun-fire, a sudden report of a musket fired into the room, startled the whole party, and made them rise from table. Captain George Hare (commandant of the 5th infantry, Hyderabad contingent), who was present, rose from his seat, but immediately afterwards exclaimed, "I am hit!" and fell to the ground. He was quickly raised by his brother officers, and placed on a sofa. Dr. Burn, the surgeon of the station, was sent for; and, on examining the wounds in the side of the victim, he pronounced them mortal. In ten minutes the murdered officer became insensible, and shortly after expired. After perpetrating the foul act, the assassin, a sepoy of the 5th regiment, rushed towards the lines, calling upon his comrades to rise, for he had performed a great deed; and shouting that, next morning, the victorious army of the king of Delhi would arrive on the parade-ground, when every European must be put to death. Owing to the darkness that prevailed, the assassin escaped for a time, although the whole of the 5th regiment—in which it did

not appear he had any accomplices—turned out in search of him. On the 9th of the month, however, he was discovered and captured at a village called Ashtee, a short distance from the scene of his crime, and was sentenced to be blown from a gun at Ellichpore. On his way to the place of execution, the determined ruffian snatched a pistol from one of his guards, and fired at the officer in charge of the party, but without effect. In the struggle to recover the pistol the man was severely wounded, and was led, covered with blood, to the muzzle of the gun, from which he was presently blown.

Turning to a distant point upon the map, we find that an excitable spirit among a portion of the Burmese population, found opportunity to indulge in an attempt at insurrection against their British rulers about the end of the year. The effort was abortive, being suppressed without much effusion of blood; but the circumstances were somewhat romantic, and, as regards the chief actor, were analogous to the Masaniello revolt at Naples, some two centuries previous. At a fortified village called Thorantay, distant about ten miles from Rangoon, a band of insurgents, headed by a young fisherman who declared himself a prince, upon a plea of some local grievance appeared in arms, and, after a short struggle with the authorities, some of whom were wounded, took possession of the place, but without indulging in the excesses that marked the career of the insurgents in India. To prevent the chance of the movement being aided by any disaffected Burmese of the vicinity, guards were placed round the village, and a messenger was sent to Rangoon for assistance. Two steamers were at once dispatched with such troops as could be spared; and, by the judicious measures adopted, the insurrection was crushed in its birth. In the two days following the arrival of the troops, fifty-three of the rebels were made prisoners without a struggle; and although, at first, there seemed a difficulty in obtaining possession of the *ci devant* prince, the offer of 1,000 rupees, as a reward for his capture, soon put the authorities upon his track, and the hapless fisherman found his dreams of a kingly throne changed into the stern reality of the gallows. Previous to his execution he implicated a Burmese of high official station (in whom much confidence was reposed by the British authorities), as the instigator of the attempt by which his life had become forfeited.



Returning to the seat of operations in Oude at the beginning of December, it appeared that the combined plan of action, on the part of the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants, was so to dispose of the various forces, that, by their conjoint movement, the troops of the insurgents would be gradually pressed into the Teria, which fringed the boundary of the Nepaulese territory. It was known that the begum and her principal adherents were in force in the Bareitch district, where they had been joined by Bainie Madhoo, who, closely pursued by a column under Brigadier Horsford, was very nearly captured while crossing the Gogra—the advanced party and videttes of his pursuers being near enough to the flying rebel to distinguish him on a fine white charger, while, sword in hand, he was directing the movements of his followers. Unfortunately, night intervened, and the prize escaped from almost the grasp of those who had striven zealously to obtain it.

At this time it became known to the authorities, by means of spies, that the Nana Sahib (who for some time had been lost sight of) was lurking about in the close jungly country, between the Terai of the Himalayas and the plain of the Bareitch territory; and that he there, with 1,500 men, was in possession of Churdah, a place thirty miles north of Bareitch, at the foot of the Nepaulese mountains. From this place, the widows of the late Bajee Rao (the patron of the Nana), who had been carried off by the latter from Bithoor, petitioned the government that some provision might be made for them when they should effect their escape, which they professed themselves desirous of doing as soon as practicable. The force remaining with the Nana was reported to be chiefly composed of cavalry; and he had thrown up an intrenchment, within which he took up his quarters, for protection against the treachery of his followers, rather than for defence against an attack by the British, with whom he had no intention to risk the issue of an engagement. One of his attendants, in whom he placed confidence, armed to the teeth, remained in his presence by night and day, with orders to shoot him in case of a surprise by the British, in whose hands he had resolved not to fall alive. But little chance, however, appeared of his capture; since, on the first intimation of the appearance of a force within fifty miles of him, he

invariably took to flight, and would be next heard of in some totally unexpected quarter.

From the movements of Tantia Topce in the direction of Oodeypore (already mentioned),\* fears were entertained for the safety of that place, and measures were necessarily adopted to ensure its protection. On the 12th of December, a brigade marched from Neemuch; and, on the 14th, another left Nusseerabad; while General Michel, who had been halting at Mhow to rest his troops, advanced thence with his force towards Oodeypore. Fifteen hundred camels were placed at the disposal of the three brigades, for use in sharp pursuits; and the escape of the hunted chief was supposed to be rendered yet more difficult by the approach of a fourth column, thrown forward from the Taptee towards the threatened city. It was not the policy, however, of the active rebel, to wait until the several parties had placed a cordon around him; and therefore, in accordance with his usual practice, he once more eluded the vigilance of the British commanders. Some attempts to distribute the royal proclamation among his troops, were, however, successful, through the strategy of a Borah (Mussulman) spy, who contrived to get himself caught by the videttes of the chief on the 3rd of December, after scattering copies of the proclamation in the district they were patrolling. The man was conveyed to Tantia Topce, who, in the presence of the Rao Sahib, assured him of personal safety if he replied to the questions put to him. In answer to what brought him near the camp, he declared that he was a poor man, who had been plundered of some camels and stores with which he was travelling; and that his object in approaching the camp, was to entreat his highness to order that they might be restored to him, as they did not belong to Feringhees, but to a Mohammedan, and the articles were of no use to Hindoos. His highness, however, declined to make any order in the matter, saying that whatever was plundered became the property of those who seized it, and he should not interfere. He was then questioned as to his knowledge of the European forces, and their movements. Of the first he professed an intense hatred, and declared himself, of the second, to be utterly ignorant. After he had played his part with success for some half-hour, he was placed under the care of a guard, in case

\* See *ante*, p. 545.

further inquiry should be necessary; and he then contrived to ingratiate himself with the Mussulmans in the camp, who conversed freely with him on their prospects, and declared their anxiety to retire from the harassing service they were engaged in; assuring him that if they were promised their lives, they would gladly give up their plunder, and surrender. By the aid of some of these men he managed to escape from the camp, taking care first to excite their curiosity, and increase their discontent, by apprising them of the amnesty offered by the proclamation of the Queen, which he knew had fallen into the hands of some of the troops; and so left them to meditate upon the alternative before them. This spy, on his return to the camp of General Michel, gave the following description of the person of the rebel chief, who had for so long time formed a prominent object of attraction to the British commanders in all parts of India:—"Tantia," says the Mohammedan, "was seated on a charpoy in the open air, surrounded by about twenty-five or thirty immediate followers, seated on his right and left on the ground, at a slight distance from his highness. His dress was plain—of white material, in the manner of Hindoos, with a red Cashmere shawl thrown loosely over the shoulders. Some of his followers, six or seven in number, appeared in the uniform of British sepoy of no high rank. A guard was in attendance near this council—as it appeared to be. His eyes are large, bold, fiery, and piercing; brows black, ovally shaped; forehead high and expansive; nose Roman; mouth middle-sized and well-shaped; lips compressed, not allowing the teeth to be perceptible; large black whiskers, tied up with a cloth round his head; complexion rather lighter than usual—the colour of wheat."

The *Rao* was described as a short man, of fair complexion, with a dark-coloured handkerchief round his head, instead of a *puggree*, or turban; gold ornaments on his wrists; wearing a short padded jacket of dark colour, and pantaloons of *mushroo*, padded with cotton. The force accompanying the chiefs were chiefly Mohammedans; but there were a few Poorbeahs (Hindoos), the latter being mostly without horses.

At this juncture, Gwalior and the surrounding country was again much disquieted by rebels, and General Whitlock

was forced to concentrate his force upon Nagode, that he might destroy a gathering of rebels, forming part of the band lately belonging to the nawab of Banda. Another force was at the same time collected at Gwalior, to put down a gang of insurgents who were creating annoyance at a short distance from the city. The Nagpore districts and Berar were also disturbed by a body of 2,500 rebels, who had forced the passage of the Nerbudda, above Hosungabad, and crossed over into the Ellichpore districts, where they were with difficulty kept in order by the troops of the Hyderabad contingent, under Brigadier Hills, and were yet likely to occasion considerable trouble.

By the middle of December, notwithstanding the existence of considerable bodies of the rebel forces, under several leaders in the field, the effect of the amnesty had become strikingly manifest, and the submission of chiefs and sepoy was of daily occurrence. Among these, the earliest, and, at the time, the most important as regards influence, was the surrender of Ishmael Khan, with 150 sowars in a body—the first example of returning obedience on the part of the cavalry. The influence of Ishmael Khan was not restricted to the party he brought into camp with him, as, on the following days, he went out and returned with another body of 400 cavalry, whom he had induced to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government, and claim the benefit of the amnesty. In the Biswarra districts the sepoy began also to avail themselves of the opportunity for pardon, and surrendered themselves upon an average of thirty per day; while, in other districts, the numbers were smaller, but still continuous. At Daryabad, 120 men sent in their submission to Colonel Seaton; and, in reply to his question, how it was that with such numbers and means of defence as they had possessed throughout the rebellion, the sepoy never stood before the British troops for any time?—he was answered—"Sahib, it has been all the work of fate. After what we had done, we never could fight. No matter whether your troops were black or white, native or European, we could not stand against them; *our salt choked us!*" It was remarked, that for some time after the stream of repentance began to show itself in the voluntary submission of the sepoy element of the revolt, that of the



men of certain regiments most deeply implicated in the early atrocities of the movement (such as the 3rd cavalry and the 6th native infantry), not one offered to avail himself of the proffered grace; feeling, probably, that deeds like those at Cawnpore, at Allahabad, and at Jhansie, could never be forgiven; and, consequently, they preferred the chance of life, under any circumstances of defeat or dispersion, to the certainty of a punishment they knew to be merited. It was only natural that the most desperate of such men, whose consciences were yet red with the glare of innocent blood, should stand aloof, and seek shelter wherever they might find safety in numbers, or, from the nature of the country, could hope to elude pursuit.

Of the enemy yet in arms, the most important, in rank and influence, were concentrating into a narrow focus in the Bareitch districts, round which the British troops were now gathering from all sides. The begum of Oude, and her principal adherents, had, as it has before been remarked, here assembled, as if to await the "last chances of the game;" but even for those the cup of mercy had not been drained; and, at the very moment that they might most justly have expected that the demands of inexorable justice would only be satisfied by exemplary punishment, the policy of the new government offered pardon and conciliation. The begum at this, the eleventh hour, was promised, in return for her submission, an asylum and a pension for herself and her son, Birjies Kudr; and her minister, Mummoo Khan, was also guaranteed his life, if the terms of the Queen's proclamation were complied with before the 1st of the ensuing month (January). The extreme liberality of the concession thus made to the begum and her principal adherents, was grounded upon the belief that that lady, her son, and minister, were not accessory to the cold-blooded murders perpetrated upon English captives in Lucknow. Terms, in accordance with the spirit of the amnesty, were also offered to other chiefs, with variable results as regarded acceptance; but the progress of disarmament was most effectually pursued wherever the British authority was re-established. In the Mullaon district, according to a weekly report, not less than 143,934 guns, matchlocks, pistols, swords, spears, lances, bows, shields, &c., had been delivered up to the authorities by the 20th of December; and, during

the following week, 55,309 weapons, of various kinds, were also collected, and fifty-seven forts were demolished in the district; while the revenue, which had for some months been *nil*, now yielded, for the one week, a sum equal to £6,000, in addition to about £30,000 already got in, out of a total of £90,000.

Returning to the movements of the commander-in-chief, it appears that his advanced column reached Beyram Ghât, on the Gogra, on the 6th of December, having with it materials for rafts. As, however, no boats were procurable, and the tedious operation of crossing troops by rafts in the face of an enemy, and, possibly under his fire, was unnecessarily hazardous—the greater portion of the forces moved towards Fyzabad, eighty-nine miles east of Lucknow, where a bridge already existed. Previous to leaving the ghât, Lord Clyde stationed Colonel Harness, of the royal engineers, at that place, with instructions to make a flying bridge, if possible, or else to collect as many boats as he could, so as to enable that part of the column left at the ghât, to cross over and occupy Nuwabgunge, on the north bank of the Gogra, as soon as the enemy should evacuate it. The commander-in-chief reached Fyzabad on the 11th of December, and on the 12th he crossed the river, and concerted the following movements. On his extreme right, Brigadier Rowcroft was to advance with 2,500 men from the Goruckpore districts, almost due north to Toolseypore, at the foot of the Nepaul hills, where a large army of rebels, including the late garrison of Gonda, under Dabee Buksh, had taken refuge. Sir Hope Grant, with the 53rd, 79th, 9th lancers, two squadrons of Hodson's horse, three troops of royal and Bengal horse artillery, a heavy siege-train, some 18-inch mortars, and a company of Delhi pioneers, was to be thrown forward from Gonda, part following the left, and part the right of the Raptée river, towards Nanparah. Lord Clyde himself was to advance through Secrora, direct to Bareitch, leaving Brigadier Eveleigh behind, with instructions to keep a line of country between Secrora and Gonda, and guard the frontiers of the Goruckpore and Gonda districts; the rest of the eastern frontier was entrusted to Lord Mark Kerr's force, from Bustee, forming parts of reserve to the rear of Grant and Eveleigh. From Fyzabad to Burragaon, west of Churda, the line of the

Gogra was jealously guarded by strong posts, under the respective commands of Brigadiers Fischer, Seaton, Purnell, and Troupe. A few miles eastward of Burragaon, between Doorara and Esanuggur, a European regiment, with two guns, was placed to guard the country between the Nepaul hills and the Surjoo river; whilst to prevent any effectual result from a sudden passage of the Gogra by the rebels, strong reserves were placed within easy distance of the line on the Chowka, under Brigadier Barker; and at Sectapore and Baree, under Brigadier Purnell. Lucknow, strongly held, was the key of the whole position, and the rearmost post of all. A reference to the map will enable the reader to trace the arrangement thus laid down; and it may also be observed, in explanation, that the rebels held a portion of country extending from the point where the Gogra issues from the Nepaul hills, down to Bitowlee on the south, and Toolseypore on the west—the boundaries of Nepaul forming the fourth, or eastern side of the irregular area within which they were then concentrated.

The commander-in-chief, having thus perfected his arrangements, advanced to Secora, where he arrived on the 15th of December. At that place he parted with Brigadier Eveleigh, who was to hold the line between it and Gonda, as before mentioned, and then marched upon Bareitch with a force of all arms, amounting to 6,166 men. Of these troops, Brigadier Horsford commanded the first brigade, and Brigadier Jous, of the 6th dragoon guards, the cavalry.

On the 17th of the month, the commander-in-chief arrived in the neighbourhood of Bareitch, the head-quarters of the begum and Bainie Madhoo, and after driving in the enemy's pickets, entered the city on the 20th. On the following day messengers from the begum came in from her camp at Nanparah, under a flag of truce, to treat with Major Barrow, the political agent, for her surrender. This object on her part, was, however, frustrated by the chiefs around her, who, discovering her intentions, suddenly evacuated their intrenchments at Nanparah, and fled, taking with them the begum and her son, as hostages, apparently, for the fidelity of her party. Nothing remained, therefore, but to proceed with the reduction of the district. Accordingly, on the night of the 21st,

Colonel Christie, of H.M.'s 80th, was detached from the main body to cross the Surjoo, and advance in a north-westerly direction. On the 23rd, a second column was thrown forward to follow the left or eastern bank of the river, in the direction of Churdah; and on the same day, the commander-in-chief, with the whole of his remaining force, broke ground from Bareitch, and marched on the road to Nanparah. After advancing eighteen miles, the troops halted at Etahah, where further progress was stopped by the rain; and it was not until the 26th that the march could be resumed. On that day Lord Clyde moved out towards Churdah, passing through Nanparah, which was found empty; but it was ascertained from spies and scouts, that the enemy was in force at Mujidiah, some distance in advance. At length, after accomplishing some twenty miles from Etahah, at 4 P.M. on the 26th of December the enemy appeared in sight, apparently in considerable force, in a position interspersed with topes, surrounded by enclosures, and defended by several guns. As the leading companies of the British force came in view, but before they were within range, the rebels opened fire with chain-shot, shells, and a variety of missiles, which, from their distance, inflicted no injury whatever upon the advancing column; and the commander-in-chief, without noticing the useless display, quietly turned the enemy's flank, while General Mansfield attacked them in front. The instant the rebels found their flank was turned, they fled, leaving six of their guns on the field, without a struggle. A pursuit was ordered; and the horse artillery, getting into confusion as it commenced, the commander-in-chief, while riding at full speed over some broken ground to rectify the error personally, was thrown heavily by the stumbling of his horse, and came to the ground on his shoulder, which was dislocated, and his face also received injury. He rose instantly, but the accident was severe, and had shaken him much. Dr. Gordon, and his subordinate officer, were close at hand, and the limb was speedily restored to its place; but the shock to the system incapacitated the aged chief from resuming his saddle. Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, the pursuit continued, led by General Mansfield in person, who chased the rebels for about four miles, until they reached the shelter of the jungle, when darkness put an end to the chase. On



the following day (the 27th), the commander-in-chief, unable to mount his horse, accompanied the troops in a dhooly, and at ten A.M. arrived before the fort of Mujidiah, a strong place on the edge of the Terai, surrounded by a formidable ditch, and mounted with six heavy guns. After having the place carefully reconnoitred, he ordered his dhooly to be carried to a point between two embrasures, out of the direct line of fire, and gave directions to attack the place on three sides. On one flank an 18-pounder and an 8-inch mortar first opened fire; two mortars opened on the other flank; while the horse artillery swept the surrounding jungle (which was swarming with rebels) with constant discharges of grape. On the third side, the heavy guns were placed in position, about 350 yards from the fort. For some time the enemy did not appear to be daunted, but kept up a smart fire with round shot, grape, and brass shells. Shortly after the cannonade had opened upon the fort, the infantry was ordered to deploy in skirmishing order to its own front and left, the men being directed to creep through the jungles, and aim at the embrasures. These orders were well obeyed; and the accuracy of the Enfield rifles enabled the marksmen to cripple the enemy's fire, which first became slower, and then ceased altogether. The rebels had by this time exhausted their appetite for further resistance, and fled into the jungle in their rear, through which the cavalry could not follow them. They endeavoured to escape, though many of them paid the penalty of their cowardice by being shot down at half-pistol range. The fort was immediately occupied, and six guns were found in position; but no trace appeared of either dead or wounded, who must have been carried off by their companions to the jungle: and so precipitate was their flight, that they left no prisoners from whom the name of the chief who commanded could be discovered. The place appeared to have been recently built, and was well stored with grain, oil, shells, and ammunition. It was generally believed that Bainie Madhoo had been at Mujidiah very shortly before, if not at the time of the attack upon the fort; and it was afterwards ascertained, that the Nana had, two days previous to the arrival of the British troops, fled from it along the Terai to Combacote, on the road to Toolseypore, where he expected to join his brother Bala Rao and his force.

The fort of Mujidiah is described as being of a pear shape, running north and south, about 400 yards long, by 350 in breadth across the middle; the rear being hidden in the depth of the jungle. The whole, as already mentioned, was surrounded by a ditch, with an *abattis* on the south and east sides. The principal front was screened by the jungle, hidden in which there was another gateway, protected by a small lunette in advance. Two lunettes were also in the jungle in the west. There were also four or five round towers or bastions along the rampart, pierced for guns. The ditch at the north gate was twenty-eight feet broad, and twenty feet deep from the ground; the face of the scarp to the top of the parapet being thirty-seven feet high, the top of the parapet seven feet thick, and the exterior fenced by a heavy *abattis*. In some places there was a double ditch; and the ramparts were perforated by sallyports, which ran into the outer ditches. In the centre of the fort was a semicircular citadel, or keep, about 150 yards long, by 100 yards broad; and, altogether, it was the strongest and best fort yet seen in Oude. As it fell dark the rifles were marched out, and their place was taken by the Beloochees. One of their sentries, next morning, spied five men walking towards the fort, three of whom were armed. When they were close to the gate he challenged them. The men dropped into the jungle; but, on his threatening to turn out the guard and shoot them down, they came up and surrendered: they were the rajah's barber, his steward, and three armed followers, who had been out in the district, and had not heard of the fall of the place. Some grass-cutters of the 7th hussars, who had been missing since the 26th, returned on the 28th, and reported that they had been taken prisoners by a party of the enemy's cavalry; and that the moonshee of Captain Freemantle, of the rifle brigade, who fell into their hands, was permitted to go free, after he had been offered a high place in their army if he would join them.

On the 28th the engineers were employed in demolishing the fort, which was too good to leave behind, and troops were out in all directions to ascertain what had become of the enemy. Churdah was found to be empty. As the work of demolition was difficult, owing to the absence of coolies (though the enemy's gunpowder was largely used, and 1,400lbs. were available), it was resolved to garrison the place with a wing of Beloochees

and fifty of the 1st Punjab cavalry, till the coolies had levelled the parapets and filled up the ditch.

On the 29th, the commander-in-chief, being quite in the dark as to the locality of the enemy, moved south at noon, and pitched his tents at Nanparah. The appearance of the troops on the plain caused some anxiety to the garrison of Oude police, who had been left in the place; but they recovered their equanimity on seeing the English camp colours. It was dark before the tents were pitched. On the 30th, information was received that the Nana Sahib, Bainie Madhoo, and some thousands of sepoys and desperadoes, had collected near Bankee, about twenty miles north of Nanparah. The news was verified about four o'clock in the afternoon; and at six, Lord Clyde had made his arrangements for a night march in pursuit of them.

At eight o'clock, the cavalry, with six horse artillery guns and the rifles, and a few of her majesty's 20th, mounted on elephants, under the command of Lord Clyde himself (who was still compelled to be conveyed in a dhooly), set out in pursuit—marched all night, and, by seven in the morning, arrived within a few miles of Bankee, and the force of the enemy was soon after within sight. The whole column was at once pressed forward towards Pooreniee, a hamlet on the right and in the rear of Bankee, close to the edge of a broad belt of an outlying strip of the Terai. About eight o'clock the enemy, mostly cavalry, were visible in front; and, as the troops approached, it was ascertained that a long deep swamp lay in their front, which was covered on each flank by a small village. Behind them and on their left, as far as the eye could reach, extended the jungle—a dense high wall of green, apparently of immense thickness. The commander-in-chief, who had now mounted on an elephant, attended by Colonel Metcalfe, reconnoitred their position. General Mansfield was intrusted with the general direction of the attack. A very few moments sufficed for the dispositions. The cavalry formed in line—a part of the Punjab horse on the right, the carabiniers, under Colonel Bickerstaff, next; then the six guns; next the 7th hussars in columns of squadrons, and on their left the rest of the Punjabees, the infantry being drawn up on the left rear. On the left front there was a tope occupied by the enemy, behind which the line of the jungle,

parallel with their rear, formed a right angle with the jungle on the British right flank. The 7th hussars at once went to the left, round the swamp, and advanced rapidly towards the tope; while the carabiniers and Punjabees proceeded towards the right. The enemy were already retreating rapidly and in confusion, having only just received warning from their picket of the approach of the troops. The bulk of their infantry seemed to go off towards their right, making for the jungle; those who were in the tope fled towards the left. The hussars slipped after the infantry towards the left; the guns, carabiniers, and Punjabees on the right, were received by the fire of three guns—one in the tope, and two from the village, near the angle of the two lines of jungle. They pushed on, the shot flying over their heads, the enemy flying into the jungle; and in a few moments the three guns were taken. Here occurred one of those accidents which show the uncertainty of any military operations not conducted in the most perfect accordance with the established rules of war. Cavalry and horse artillery can do much, but they cannot charge jungle. The infantry were far behind. The moment the enemy's infantry got within the jungle they faced round and opened a sharp musketry fire on the cavalry and guns; while two guns, quite concealed from view, served by steady gunners with shot, shell, grape, canister, and shrapnel, opened on the pursuers. Fraser's guns in vain tried to search out the jungle and to silence the enemy's fire. The rifles were advancing at the double; and as it was quite useless to expose men to a fire, already very heavy, which a few seconds might render fatal, the artillery were retired by alternate guns, firing as they fell back, and covered by the cavalry. The rifles advanced splendidly; and, as their Enfields began to whistle through the trees, the enemy's guns shut up, and their infantry disappeared. The advance again was ordered; and on examination, a path was perceived in the jungle at the angle of the two lines of wood already mentioned. At this moment it was reported that the enemy on the left were in force; and, soon afterwards, that a party of sowars were threatening the left flank. The carabiniers and two guns were detached to meet the latter movement; and the 20th regiment were placed to cover the rear; while the rifles advanced through the jungle in front of the left flank of the hussars and the Punjabees, who, with five guns, filed through



it by the road. The sowars proved to be a detachment of Punjabees, who had been left with the Beloochees at Mujidiah, and were led out by Mr. Ross when he heard the firing. The enemy's infantry did not make any attempt on the left of the English line, but seem to have got away through the jungle on their right from the line of rifle skirmishers. The belt of jungle was about half a mile broad; and, by half-past ten, the cavalry and part of the guns suddenly emerged on a wide plain with an undulating surface, in front of which rose the Nepaulese hills, with their base covered by the Terai. On the left of the cavalry the belt of jungle ran on in a line down to a dip in the ground, where it abruptly ceased. In the plain the enemy appeared flying in two disorderly bodies—one towards the left, where the jungle ceased; the other towards a village on the right. Detaching a squadron of the 7th hussars to the left, Sir William Russell led the remainder of his regiment and the Punjabees towards the large mass of the fugitives on the right. As they dashed onwards, their course was unfortunately interrupted by a deep nullah filled with water, which stopped Fraser's guns, and detained the cavalry in their pursuit. The moment they were freed from this obstacle, they charged on to the right; but the enemy had got a good start, and were close to the village, which was situated on a ford of the river Raptee. Here they rushed across in wild confusion. But the hussars pressed close upon them. The Punjabees captured a gun on the brink of the river. Suddenly a heavy battery of six guns, from the other side of the river, opened on the pursuing cavalry, covering the ford, and ploughing up the opposite bank. The begum's guns had been sent up, and Me-hundie Hoosein was doing his best for his friends. The British guns were not up. The enemy on the right had got over, and were collecting on the other side of the rapid river, under cover of their guns. Meanwhile the squadron under Fraser, on the left, having a greater space to go over, had not got so close to the river at the point where the jungle joined its course. The enemy, headed by the rifles through the jungle, and cut off on the right, were all crowding in dismay towards the narrow point on the left, where there was a ford. The hussars and Punjabees on the right were at once wheeled round, and, running the gauntlet of the enemy's guns all along

the banks of the river, galloped as hard as they could to assist the squadron on the left. As Fraser's men saw they were gaining on the enemy, and that a river ran before them, they gave one ringing cheer, sat down in their saddles, and rushed along as fast, fierce, and strong as the Raptee itself. "Steady men, steady!" shouted the commander—it was in vain; the thunder of horses' hoofs, the lightning of battle, rolled and flashed along. Sir W. Russell, galloping swiftly, tried in vain to come up on their right; but even his long-legged horse could not overtake the troopers. The Raptee, then at its lowest, was a very clear, rapid, mountain river, with low banks, between which were beds of sand deposited by the torrents, which had descended from the hills during the rains. The course of the river is exceedingly tortuous, and little or nothing was known of its direction or of the fords. The pace quickened as the cavalry closed upon the enemy; but the sowars were well mounted, and rode well. The mass of the enemy dashed over the bank, over the sands and boulders, and right into the current.

In a cascade of white the sowars precipitated themselves into the waters of the Raptee. At the sight the hussars gave one more wild cry, and in an instant they were engaged with them in the river. Not a man could be held; each went straight at an enemy. Their horses floundered amid the rocks, but the hussars held their own. They cut down the sowars as they struggled in the whirling stream, and charged them in the ford. It was one of those wonderful spectacles only to be seen in actual war, and of which peace has no counterpart:—here men and horses swimming for their lives; there, fierce hand-to-hand conflicts between sowars and hussars in the foaming water; but the river was the most formidable foe. Major Horne, a most kind-hearted, excellent soldier, overturned with his horse in the river, was rolled over, swept away, and drowned. Captain Stisted, carried away by the stream, was only saved by the activity and presence of mind of Major Fraser, his comrade, who pulled off his coat and plunged into the river just in time to carry his friend, with a spark of life unextinguished, to the bank. The river was full of struggling men and horses, and some forty or fifty of the enemy were swimming for their lives; but the rest were beneath the waters, or were riding across the other bank.

The pursuers had ridden thirty miles. They were exhausted, as were the horses; and so, at one o'clock, the cavalry fell back, marched through the jungle, and, joining the rest of the expedition, found their tents pitched and baggage up at Bankee, in their rear, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st.

Notwithstanding their enormous losses, the enemy had still fifteen or twenty guns across the Raptee; but the blow so unexpectedly struck, filled them with such dismay, that they fled for miles through the jungles on the left. At night, however, the infantry recovered themselves, and passed over by various fords to the begum, Bainie Madhoo, and the chuckledar, Mehundie Hoosein. The begum's camp was immediately broken up and moved further north.

Shortly after this disastrous encounter, by the result of which all hope for the present appeared to be lost, the begum addressed a letter to Maun Sing, then at the camp of the commander-in-chief, in which she expressed herself with all the pride and grandeur of a sovereign princess making a treaty with an equal potentate, when asking what stipulations Queen Victoria wished to introduce, in case she thought fit to lay down her arms; and also what guarantee the Queen of England was prepared to offer for the due performance of such promises as might be made to the majesty of Oude, in the persons of herself and her son, whose rights as king, and her own, as his mother and actual guardian, she insisted upon the recognition of, as the basis of any negotiation! The reply to this extraordinary communication was transmitted to the begum by Major Barrow, who informed her majesty, that to open negotiations with her after the deceptions of which she had been guilty, would be absurd, if it were admissible; and that the utmost that could then be offered to her was, an extension of clemency in case of unconditional surrender, but not otherwise.

The body of Major Horne was brought into camp in the afternoon of the 4th of January, by some natives, who, stimulated by the promise of a reward, searched the river, and found the corpse submerged in a quicksand below the ford. The gallant and lamented officer was buried the same evening in front of the camp, under a lone tree, whereon a plate, with an inscription stating his name, rank, and the manner and date of his death, was affixed. It was an affecting ceremonial, decorously conducted. The

staff of Lord Clyde, of Sir W. Mansfield, the head-quarters' officers, the officers of the rifle brigade, Brigadier Horsford, Brigadier Richmond Jones, the officers and a detachment of the carabiniers, Sir W. Russell, and the officers and men of the 7th hussars, followed the bier, behind which was led the horse of the deceased in funereal trappings. As the procession, preceded by the band of the rifle brigade, passed out of the camp, and the sad and noble strains of "the Death March" swelled through the air, the native camp-followers thronged to gaze upon the spectacle, and one or two salaamed as the war-horse passed them. Sir William Russell, in the absence of any clergyman, read the funeral prayers, and, in the gloom of a murky evening, the service closed.

Feroze Shah continued to create annoyance; but, by the beginning of December, the force which still adhered to him had dwindled down to some 700 cavalry, without guns, and nearly without resources. The blow struck by Brigadier Napier, at Rannode, had proved most disastrous to him, as it deterred the people of the country through which he passed from rendering him assistance, and his followers consequently fell off. A party of them had, however, an encounter with a detachment of the 25th Bombay native infantry from Goona, under the command of Captain Rice, of the 86th regiment, who contrived to surprise the rebels in a pass among the hills, near Arone. On arriving at this place on the 22nd of December, Captain Rice received intelligence that a party of Feroze Shah's troops were within eight miles of him. The previous day they had encountered Lieutenant Stack, of the Bombay lancers, who was on his way from Poonah to Saronge, with a convoy of forty camels and thirty Cape horses for Smith's brigade. The convoy was at once attacked, the whole of the camels captured, and three lancers killed. Lieutenant Stack and the horses, however, managed to escape. On receiving these tidings, Captain Rice, with his whole force, marched at twilight, leaving his camp standing. The first five miles of the route were easy, but after that the march lay through thick jungle, and very rugged and uneven ground. The guns and the cavalry kept up with the column with the greatest difficulty; but as it was a bright moonlight night no mishap occurred. About eleven o'clock the column halted at



the base of some high hills. Captain Rice, accompanied by the native guides, went forward on his knees to reconnoitre, and was able to discern, at some distance, the enemy's picket. The word "forward" was given, and the column marched through a pass, between the hills, scarcely ten feet broad. The 86th rushed forward to charge, but were stopped by a nullah, which they were obliged to head by marching some distance to the right. This slight delay, however, allowed the rebels to escape; and when the column arrived at their camp, they found it deserted. Captain Rice recovered nearly the whole of the camels captured the day before, with the addition of 100 horses and ponies, besides arms, ammunition, and stores of all kinds. The place seemed a perfect den for robbers. It was about 150 feet long, and fifty yards broad, with hills and thick jungles on both sides. The entrance through which Captain Rice marched his column was a narrow pass between the hills, having a small river in its front, which undoubtedly saved the rebels from destruction; as, during the time the troops were crossing the stream, they escaped by a small path-way over the hills, at a further extremity of this natural amphitheatre. As pursuit was hopeless, the troops bivouacked by the enemy's fires until morning, when Captain Cochrane, with a party of horse, started in pursuit, the remainder of the force marching some time afterwards.

The determination of Bainie Madhoo and other chiefs to still hold out, although they were aware the term of grace offered by the amnesty would expire on the 1st of January, 1859, created a difficulty to be solved by the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. A question naturally arose under the circumstances, whether it would not be advantageous to prolong the term within which submission would be accepted; and a decision upon this point became the more important on account of the different views taken by persons in high places, both in India and in Great Britain, of every act of the Indian government. The question was eventually disposed of by the determination of the authorities upon the scene of action, to treat every case upon its own merits, without strictly referring to the limits prescribed by the proclamation.

Both Feroze Shah and Tantia Topee were, however, both aware that the period approached beyond which, for them, the am-

nesty would be a dead letter; yet they exhibited no signs of a disposition to avail themselves of the safety offered to them. On the contrary, they had effected a junction on the Chumbul, north-east of Kotah, and were marching towards Madhorajpore, from whence they could menace Jeypore. The last-named chief, it will be remembered, after threatening Bunsware, directed his march towards Oodeypore, *viâ* Saloombra, and reached the latter place on the 15th of December, where he was received with open arms by the rajah. As Oodeypore was barely fifty miles from this place, it was Tantia's intention to have marched upon it; but, for once, the movements of his European antagonists were too fleet for him. A column, under Major Rocke, consisting of about 400 men of various corps, with two guns, had marched for the protection of Oodeypore; to reach which place they had, in five days, covered 100 miles of most difficult roads, having bullocks only to drag along their guns. The movement was, however, successful; and Tantia, finding his design upon Oodeypore frustrated, struck off eastward, in the direction of Mundesore, with Major Rocke's force in close pursuit. The chase lasted for several days; and at length, on Christmas eve, the enemy was overtaken at Pertabghur, and was here so severely pressed, that, becoming desperate, he resolved to proceed no further, but, turning upon his pursuers, to cut his way through them, and recross the Chumbul river. In coming to this resolve, it is probable he was misled as to the strength of Major Rocke's force, which he imagined was merely a small body of cavalry. On the afternoon of the 24th of December, therefore, between four and five o'clock, the rebel army advanced to the attack in three divisions, the right being commanded by Tantia in person. His skirmishers extended over nearly two miles of ground, and his force amounted to about 1,500 infantry, and 3,500 cavalry; but he had no artillery. Major Rocke's force of 400 men was nothing daunted by the formidable display presented to it, but showed a bold front to the enemy, whom they allowed to approach in silence. At 1,200 yards the 72nd highlanders opened fire with their Enfield rifles, and almost every shot took effect. The rebels, however, still advanced; and, as soon as they came within range, the two guns opened fire, and did great execution, rolling over horses and riders in

numbers. The right of Major Roche's force sustained the heaviest fire; and it was even supposed at one time that the enemy would have charged at this point. The 13th native infantry, however, replied to the fire with great precision and rapidity; and Tantia's army, opening out to the right and left, made a rapid retreat in the direction of the Chumbul. Darkness prevented pursuit, and the rebels were allowed to escape unmolested. Major Roche's column sustained but little injury in this engagement. Captain Bolton (royal artillery) received a contusion on the side, but of such little consequence as scarcely to interfere with the discharge of his duties. Three men of the 72nd highlanders, and four sepoy of the 13th native infantry, were wounded, but not seriously. The whole of the troops behaved with great gallantry; and it is probable, if the action had commenced earlier in the day, that few of the enemy would have reached the Chumbul. As it was, the ground was covered with dead rebels and horses, the wounded having been carried off by the main body. Their total loss was estimated at about 300 men. Two elephants were taken; and on the back of one was found the cooking apparatus of the Rao Sahib. The driver stated that the Rao was wounded, and that a body found without the head was that of Tantia's cousin. Major Roche resumed the pursuit on the following morning; but, as the guns were dragged by bullocks, he was unable to approach the rebels. His force had performed excellent service, having, in the space of five days, preserved the large and opulent cities of Oodeypore and Pertabghur from sack and plunder. After leaving the field of battle at Pertabghur, Tantia never drew rein until he approached Mundesore. Colonel Benson's column had, however, in the meantime taken up the pursuit, and reached the city almost as soon as the rebel fugitives. Perceiving his danger, Tantia sheered off to the northwards, and marched upon Narghur. He was scarcely allowed a halt, Colonel Benson being close upon his heels. Again he started, and this time distanced his pursuers, as he managed to cross the Chumbul at Biswa, twenty-eight miles north-east of Mundesore, before Colonel Benson could overtake him. He then betook himself to the jungle with the remnant of his followers, and, for the present, seemed not likely to give much further trouble. He could not retrace his steps

southward, the Ahmedabad column being at Bunswara, Parke's brigade at Mundesore, Major Roche's column at Pertabghur, Major Graut's force at Rutlam, another force at Dohud, Captain Buckle's horse at Bareah, and some irregular forces at Jubboah and Bhofawur.

In Central India, a body of rebels, to the number of nearly 4,000, had, early in December, concentrated in the vicinity of Nagode, under a chief named Radha Govind, from whence they threatened the garrison at Kirwee; and, on the 22nd of the month, a portion of the force made an attack upon the place, and so far succeeded as to obtain possession of the town, and surround the palace of Narayun Rao, in which the European troops, numbering about eighty, were shut up. Of this force, a considerable portion were sick and convalescent; and the palace itself was much too extensive for such a garrison to defend for any length of time. Intelligence was, however, conveyed to General Whitlock, who was in the neighbourhood; and, on the 24th of December, that officer relieved the beleaguered troops. The following extract of a letter from Banda, dated the 26th of the month, supplies some details of the affair:—"The garrison at Kirwee were attacked at noon on the 22nd, by Radha Govind, with 600 mutineers, 3,000 matchlock-men, and 150 cavalry; but the small, though gallant and heroic band, consisting of 30 of H.M.'s 43rd, 11 of the royal artillery, and 40 Madrassees, with one or two native guns, bravely held their own until nightfall, when the enemy retired. The next day, the rebels were busy making scaling-ladders; and, on the 24th, they attacked a neighbouring jagheerdar, and took from him three guns, with which they were preparing for another attack on the garrison. General Whitlock, however, at Matuba, got the news by express on the evening of the 23rd, and, with the A troop of Madras horse artillery, one squadron of H.M.'s 12th lancers, and one troop of Hyderabad cavalry, reached Banda, thirty-six miles, on the morning of the 24th, and the next night marched forty-eight miles to Kirwee, and relieved the garrison, which was fairly knocked up with three days of perpetual watching day and night. They had only lost one matchlock-man, whilst the enemy had suffered considerably. The latter are now in force about five miles from Kirwee; but I trust that in a few days, by a combined



movement, they will soon be exterminated or dispersed. Captain Woodland, of the 1st Madras native infantry, commanded the garrison, and bravely did they do their duty. The relieving force marched eighty-four miles in thirty hours."

Following up this success, General Whitlock, on the 29th, attacked the rebels under Radha Govind, at Punwaree, five miles south-east of Kirwee. The enemy was posted very favourably upon some heights, which were, however, stormed, and their guns taken with a rush, by H.M.'s 43rd regiment and some Rewah infantry. In the *mêlée*, Radha Govind and his brother, and about a hundred other rebels, were slaughtered. Meanwhile, the general had gone round by a detour to the enemy's rear, with the horse artillery and cavalry, and a detachment of the 3rd Madras Europeans and sappers, and cut off their retreat. As the rebels came flying from before the attacking columns, they were met in every direction by the horse artillery and cavalry. At last, about 200 of them took refuge in a small wood, which was immediately surrounded by the cavalry, and the latter went in and cut them all up to a man. Upwards of 300 were killed altogether, it is believed; and, in addition to the guns, several elephants, camels, and horses, and other property, was captured. The rout of the enemy was most complete; and they only saved themselves by dispersing and flying into the depth of the immense forests which cover those tracts. The casualties on the side of the English only consisted of a few wounded.

From the plains of Punwaree and Dadree, the remnant of the rebel force fled south towards Kotee, in which direction Brigadier Carpenter had been ordered to march from Nagode, to intercept the fugitives. He had not proceeded far before he got news of them, and sent out a party under Colonel Gottreux, of the 1st Madras native infantry, to give an account of them. The detachment consisted of 26 of H.M.'s 43rd regiment, 55 of the 1st Madras native infantry, with 30 cavalry, and 150 infantry of the Nagode levies, accompanied by Captain Osborne, the political agent of Rewah, and his assistant. At daybreak on the 2nd of January, this party came suddenly upon a body of 300 mutineers of the 8th, 49th, and other Bengal regiments, in the village of Kureereah, and effected a most complete surprise. The rebels had just time to

receive them with a sharp discharge of musketry, and then turned and fled. The cavalry, under Lieutenant Gompertz, soon, however, headed them, and drove them back on to the Enfields of the 43rd, who made short work of it; and such as were still able to attempt escape, were again charged into by the cavalry, as they fled over some very difficult ground covered with brushwood. Some of the rebels fought desperately in this affair, and few escaped to carry the news of their defeat to the camp of the insurgent chief.

It was by this time well known that the most important personages connected with the rebellion, with the bulk of the insurgent forces yet in arms, had sought shelter in the Nepaulese territory—a movement on their part which added somewhat to the difficulties of the campaign by which the war of the rebellion was to be terminated, and rendered the operations of the commander-in-chief of increased political importance, as well as of extreme delicacy. The favourable view in which the British alliance had originally been considered by Jung Bahadoor, was supposed to have undergone a very material change, in consequence of some alleged misunderstanding between the Nepaulese chief and the governor-general at Allahabad, upon a question of reward for services rendered by the Ghoorka force in the Lucknow campaign; and also in reference to the British resident at the court of Nepaul (Colonel Ramsay), who had become personally objectionable to the Jung; and against whom the latter, when at Allahabad, preferred no less than thirty distinct charges. The colonel was thereupon summoned to answer those charges personally before Lord Canning; and, upon his quitting Khatmandoo for the purpose, the Nepaulese prime minister, triumphantly but incorrectly, boasted that *he* had *dismissed* the resident: such, however, was not the case, as, upon the arrival of the colonel at Allahabad, he fully and satisfactorily answered every charge that had been preferred against him; and, in consequence, he was at once exonerated from all blame, and ordered to resume his appointment at the court of Nepaul. The Nepaulese durbar, on its part, now peremptorily refused to receive Colonel Ramsay in a public character, and declared that the governor-general, by reappointing him, had violated a distinct promise given to the court of Nepaul through General Macgregor. It

affected to see, in the persistency to force an obnoxious resident upon the court, a hostile menace. Under such circumstances, and with the *débris* of a large mutinous army encamping upon the Nepaul territory, it was not considered prudent to insist upon the appointment; and rather than involve himself disagreeably with the Nepaulese court, and thereby introduce fresh complications into the campaign, the governor-general consented to replace the colonel by an officer more acceptable to the authorities, relying upon their good faith for the ejection of the begum and her confederates from the territory in which they were sheltering themselves from pursuit.\*

About the 4th of January, information was received in the camp of the commander-in-chief that the enemy were again collected in great strength in the valley of the Raptec, beyond a range of hills distinctly visible from the camp; but no positive intelligence could be obtained as to their actual position in Nepaul, nor had Lord Clyde authority to pass the frontier, for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. That British soldiers should be content to rest upon their arms with an enemy almost within their reach, was not natural; and it was therefore with much gratification intelligence was

\* Whatever may have been the personal feeling of Jung Bahadoor, as regarded the government in India, it is evident by the following account of the reception of her majesty's proclamation in Nepaul, that the sentiments of the Nepaulese court were of a friendly description towards the British nation and its sovereign, from whom the Jung had personally received marks of attention during his extraordinary mission to the court of Queen Victoria. The reception is thus described by an officer attached to the English resident at Khatmandoo:—"On the 4th of December, a full durbar was held at Khatmandoo by the Maharaj Dheraj (or king) of Nepaul, to receive, through the assistant-resident, Captain Byers, a khureeta from the governor-general, enclosing the Queen's proclamation, together with his own. The durbar was unusually crowded with all the officers of state. When the assistant-resident, having in a short speech to the king mentioned the subject of the khureeta, presented it enclosed in a case of kinkáb, or cloth of gold, his highness expressed how much he was gratified at the intelligence of her majesty's assumption of the government of India; and added, that in a few days a grand parade of all the troops should be held to do every honour to the change of rule; at the same time inviting the assistant-resident to be present. Accordingly, on the 7th of the same month, the troops, amounting to 13,500, were assembled on the Toone-Khel parade-ground. They were disposed in the form of two parallelograms, the one within the other, with the exception of the artillery, who were drawn up on one flank, with 100 pieces of cannon ranged in a semicircle. The assistant-resident, who was accom-

panied by Dr. Oldfield, honorary assistant and medical officer, was received by the troops with the usual honours, and was then conducted by the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor to the centre, where the brothers of the prime minister, together with the principal officers, were all drawn up in a distinct line. His highness, according to a Nepaulese custom when paying a military compliment to an absent personage, now elevated his sheathed sword above his head, to represent her most gracious majesty; and having given a short abstract of the proclamation announcing the transfer of government within the Anglo-Indian territories, he directed the officers to explain to their men the purpose for which they were assembled. He then drew his sword, and exclaimed, 'Salute the Queen of England!' The trumpets sounded the 'present,' the troops presented arms, the prime minister and officers dropped their swords, and four bands stationed together struck up 'God save the Queen.' The officers then joined their regiments; the two lines, as above described, faced outwards; and each man, being supplied with ten rounds of blank cartridge, commenced a *feu de joie*, which was well maintained. The outer line fired from right to left, the inner from left to right; thus the running fires crossed each other like the smoke of two railway trains as they flash by from opposite directions, and produced a striking effect. This having ended, a signal was given, and the artillery opened fire in salvoes of ten guns each, which were continued until 1,000 rounds had been expended. Thus ended this demonstration of the friendly feeling of the government of Nepaul towards the British crown."

The report of the spics was evidently intended to deceive the British commander,

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and gain time for the rebels, as, on the 5th, Lord Clyde learned that the begum had fled, and by that time was 150 miles distant from his camp, and in the Nepaulese territory. The advance upon the line of the Raptec was, however, resumed. On the 6th, the tents were again struck, and the column advanced through the jungle to the plain beyond it, by a path cut by the pioneers: the distance was little more than six miles; and, as they emerged from the jungle, the clear bright morning afforded a magnificent view of the mountains of Nepal, with occasional glimpses of the snowy range of the great Himalayas peering above them in the far distance. The enjoyment of the beauty of the scenery above was, however, sadly marred by that around the line of march. The bodies of men and animals slain in the engagement of the 30th of December, were strewn on either side, torn and dismembered by shot, and mangled by the wild beasts of the jungle, and even yet affording a repast for the vultures, while they poisoned the atmosphere with the fetid exhalations that arose from them. Crossing the undulating plain, the banks of the Raptee were at length approached; the opposite shore being marked by a line of deep forest, spreading away to the foot of the mountains. The Raptee had by this time hurried away, in its current, nearly all traces of the sanguinary fight of the 30th; but a few dead horses were seen half-buried in the sandbanks: while, gazing across the bed of the stream, which is here about half a mile wide (although, at the time, the water was not more than 200 yards across), a solitary sepoy made his appearance from the jungle, on the Nepaul side, and precipitately retired. The traces of the begum's camp, and of the position from whence her guns had fired on the cavalry, were yet visible; but no enemy remained.

On the morning of the 7th of January, Mehundie Hoosein, the nawab of Furruckabad, and several chiefs of minor importance, came across the Raptee, from the rebel camp in the Terai, and surrendered themselves to the English picket at the ford. The nawab and his friends were accompanied by about 200 armed men, who laid down their swords and fire-arms as soon as they stepped from the river. The chiefs came over on elephants and in palkees, and they were followed into the head-quarters' camp by a crowd of natives from the bazaar, and soldiers off duty. They were first con-

ducted by the guard to the tent of Major Barrow, and the case of the nawab of Furruckabad was the first taken into consideration. His case was peculiar. In accordance with the information laid before it, and the general belief at the time, the government of India, in the preceding April, had excluded the nawab from the benefits and rewards offered to the captor of the Nana, as one who was almost as guilty as that great criminal, on account of his ordering the massacre of women and children at Futteghur, the military station of Furruckabad.\* A price of £10,000 was set on his head; and he was expressly shut out, by proclamation, from all favour and amnesty. There were, indeed, people who said at the time that the nawab had nothing to do with the massacre, and that he tried in vain to prevent it. Two Christian ladies, who had known the nawab in former times, and were received into his zenana on the outbreak, declared he was innocent; and their testimony was partly corroborated: but peculiar circumstances occurred to invalidate the testimony of those ladies, and the ban upon him remained. That the nawab went off with the rebels was, however, notorious, and his exemption from amnesty was equally well known. In person he was represented as a small delicately-framed man, with feminine hands and feet; and his features, of a true Oriental type, were regular—rather Jewish in character; but his eyes fine, though somewhat dull. He was handsomely dressed in a rich green-and-gold turban, a black velvet surcoat lined with fur, and silk trowsers; and his manners were perfectly quiet and becoming. He was told to take a chair in Major Barrow's tent, and the commissioner then explained to him that he was to be sent a prisoner to Furruckabad, to take his trial for murder. "To kill men in war is fair, nawab; but no one ought to murder defenceless women and children, no matter what the excuse, in war or peace."—"The commissioner says truly: if I have done so, let me suffer."—"You know that you are considered guilty of the massacre at Futteghur."—"Yes; the best proof I can give that I do not consider myself guilty is, that I come here to take my trial, though you have already pronounced me guilty, and I have to prove my innocence."—"I hope you can do so."—"My trust is that I may, though it is difficult." In the course of

\* See vol. i., p. 350.

conversation he said he had brought in all his family; and he was allowed to send a certain number of his own followers with them to Furruckabad, where they would find his palace and houses in ruins. He was asked whether he would prefer a guard of Europeans or of natives. He replied, "natives;" and then, as if anxious to explain his reasons, added, "But whichever you please; I only said natives because they would understand better, for I do not speak English well." With his retinue were four or five elephants, which he handed over to the British. Among them was General Wheeler's sporting elephant, and Mahout, who had been going about with the rebels ever since the Cawnpore massacre. The man could tell little about the actual murders, for he was not near the place when they were perpetrated; but he declared that the nawab had been several times prevented coming over by the sepoys, who watched him closely, and who had threatened to kill him repeatedly. A guard of the rifle brigade was marched up to the tent to guard the nawab; but as Colonel Christie was starting next day with the 80th for Cawnpore, it was resolved to send the prisoner down with the force, to which some native infantry were added as a special escort. On the nawab's right, in the tent, was seated Mehundie Hoosein, the old opponent of General Franks, and recently, on more than one occasion, the beaten foe of Sir Hope Grant. He was a fine, tall, portly man, with a very agreeable face, much more open and manly than the nawab's. On his right sat Hijummoab Hoosein, talookdar of Buthamow; and then round the table, in front of the commissioner, in order, Meer Dost Ali, uncle of Mehundie Hoosein; Gholam Hoosein, brother of the rebel; Meer Bundee Hoosein, tehseeldar of Hussunpore; Sheek Ali Mahomed, tehseeldar of Pertabghur, and Meer Reasut Ali—all rebel chiefs of Oude, vanquished, owning themselves beaten, and seeking pardon. If, when weak, the British punished severely and fearlessly, now that they were strong they were clement and generous: and thus all those rebels were permitted to return to their homes—one with fifty, another with forty-five, another with fifty followers, to guard their families and their property: no questions were asked them; and their written papers were given to them on the spot—the only condition being, that they should repair to Mr. Martin, at Lucknow, where their followers were to

be disarmed, and they would learn the terms on which they were to live in Oude for the future. Maun Sing understood this policy perfectly; for he said—"When the British were few, and fighting for their lives, they had to kill and hang every one, and to forgive no offender; now the day is theirs, they can pardon without any one saying they are afraid." Maun Sing's approbation of any policy was doubtful praise; but the remark showed he appreciated the arguments of a large party in India as to the conduct of the English in a great crisis.

Mehundie Hoosein was collector of Salone under the Oude dynasty. When Oude was annexed he was relieved from his charge by Major Barrow; and when the mutiny took place, he reoccupied the post which, perforce, the commissioner was obliged to abandon; and, "now," said he, "you are here to relieve me again." He spoke frankly and freely; and it appeared that his numbers had never reached the strength attributed to him in despatches.

These men, who had come in upon an errand so fraught with serious consequences to themselves, were all well and even richly dressed, and sat at their ease as if they had been among their best friends. From the commissioner's tent the chiefs proceeded to Lord Clyde's, with the exception of the nawab, who, as a prisoner, remained with Lieutenant-colonel Crealock, and conversed with that officer while he was sitting for a pencil sketch, which was very successful. Lord Clyde invited the chiefs to sit down, and expressed his gratification at seeing them, and his hope that they would settle down and become good subjects of the Queen. "I have been fifty years a soldier," he said, "and I have seen enough of war to rejoice when it is at an end." "Say to the Lord Sahib that I was twenty-five years in the service of the king of Oude," replied Mehundie Hoosein; evidently implying that he could not, as a man of honour, help fighting in the cause of one he had served so long. They took their leave, after a short interview, and were permitted to travel as they pleased to Lucknow; most of them, however, preferring to accompany the column. Mehundie Hoosein reported that there were 20,000 sepoys and 1,200 sowars, with 200 elephants, in Nepaul. The next evening, the 80th regiment and 24th Punjabees commenced their march from the head-quarters' camp for Cawnpore, taking with them, as a state prisoner, the nawab of Furruckabad.



As there were no longer any rebel forces in Oude worthy the name of an army, the military operations in that country may be said to have ceased with the affair on the Raptee. On the 7th of January, the commander-in-chief issued instructions for the security of the passes and gorge of that river, to prevent the return of the fugitives from the Nepaulese territory; and thus reported the result of the campaign.

*To his Excellency the Viscount Canning,  
Viceroy and Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, Camp on the Raptee,  
7th January, 1859.

"My Lord,—When I last had the honour to address your excellency on the progress of the campaign in Oude, on the 25th of November, 1858, I reported that the first half of it had been brought to a conclusion, the rebels having been for the most part driven across the Gogra, with the exception of the Seetapore district, which stretches from the border of Rohilcund to the neighbourhood of Lucknow.

"It is now my pleasing duty further to report to your excellency that the campaign is at an end, that there is no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude, and that the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and her majesty's empire of Hindostan. These results have been attained by following the course of action first initiated in the month of July, when the campaign of Oude for the reduction of the country really commenced—viz., by not committing the troops to a forward movement until I should be ready to support it on every side, and so to convert a march into a thorough process of occupation, as was done in the Doab last year, after the battle of Cawnpore.

"Due preparation once made, the troops have always been instantly thrown forward, in spite of every difficulty of season, and their work rendered permanent. Hence it arose that the campaigns in Behar, Goruckpore, and Oude, have been always treated as a whole, and I have in great measure continued to trust to my own judgment, to fix the date when decisive operations should commence in each territory, with due regard to the general plan, from the great outline and features of which a departure has not at any time been permitted.

"It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction and of thankfulness to the officers and soldiers of the army, who have displayed such unwearied constancy, perseverance, and fortitude in giving execution to my orders, that I have it consequently in my power to announce to your excellency, that on the 1st of January, the last day of clemency permitted under the proclamation of her gracious majesty the Queen, it was reported to me, by the special commissioner attached to my camp in a civil capacity, that the law and civil administration has been re-established in every district in Oude, similar reports having been made respecting Goruckpore and Behar a few weeks previously.

"On the 31st of December, 1858, the rebels were engaged for the last time by me, as a military body in Oude, and driven across the border. The force actually with me is encamped close to it. The begum, with her immediate followers, having been as yet deaf to the offers of her majesty's clemency, has sought an asylum in Nepaul; while nearly every chief or talookdar, I may say almost without an exception, whose hands have not been imbrued in murder, has surrendered, and is now in the course of making an amicable arrangement with the chief commissioner of Oude.

"The disarmament of the people, and the dismantling of the forts of the country, have proceeded rapidly under the protection of the columns and garrisons left in different parts of the province, as the general advance of the long line pressed further onwards, until at length it was arrested by the mountains of Nepaul, the frontier of her majesty's ally. Many hundred guns, and about 350,000 arms of different description, have been collected in Oude, and more than 300 forts have been destroyed. A considerable number of the mutineers have surrendered and been allowed to retire to their homes, and the population of the country is settling down in all directions in the most satisfactory manner.

"I now present to your excellency a slight sketch of the military movements of the last six weeks. It will be in the recollection of your excellency, that a few hours after the evacuation of Shunkerpore, on the 16th of November, 1858, by Bainie Madhoo, the force which had been concentrated for the reduction of that place was broken up; Brigadier Taylor, C.B., H.M.'s 79th highlanders, having been sent with a strong

brigade of all arms to Fyzabad, with orders to cross the Gogra at that point. Sir Hope Grant had been ordered to march in a direct line to the Goomtee. Leaving his force under Brigadier Horsford, C.B., rifle brigade, to reduce the country stretching from Sultanpore to Lucknow, Sir H. Grant repaired with the head-quarters of Hodson's horse to Fyzabad, according to instruction, to take charge of the first trans-Gogra movement. He was desired to assume command of the troops in the Goruckpore district, under Brigadier Rowcroft, Bengal native infantry, and to combine them with the troops at Fyzabad, for the purpose of commencing the clearance of the trans-Gogra district, arrangements being at the same time made to support the movement from Lucknow and the various posts held between that city and Fyzabad. In the meantime an excellent bridge had been completed at the latter place by Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, royal engineers. Sir Hope Grant gave effect to his instructions in his usual brilliant manner—crossed the Gogra on the 25th of November, and engaged a large body of insurgents under the rajah of Gonda and Mehundie Hoosein, taking six guns, and utterly routing the enemy, with but small loss to himself. Gonda was then occupied by Sir Hope Grant, and Brigadier Rowcroft was gradually pushed forward across the Raptee to Heer, in the Goruckpore district; this latter movement driving the rebels, who had so long annoyed the western frontier of that district, into Toolseypore, in Oude, to the north of the Raptee.

"It had now become necessary for Sir Hope Grant to stop his forward movement until the advance along the line had been made, otherwise, that which we most dreaded might probably have taken place, and the rebels, passing round his right flank under the mountains, might have invaded Tirhoot and Behar. He was accordingly warned to use the greatest care to prevent such a catastrophe, and to confine himself to that duty for the present. In the meantime the other brigades of the army had not been idle. After the fight of Dhoondia Kera, I moved, by forced marches, to Lucknow with the troops. Another brigade, broken up in the Roy Bareilly district, furnished movable columns, which respectively under Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, royal artillery, and Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael, H.M.'s 32nd regiment, pursued

Bainie Madhoo to the banks of the Gogra, Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael taking up the running, as it were, from Lieutenant-colonel Gordon.

"While Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael was in pursuit, Brigadier Horsford intercepted Baiuie Madhoo, who, flying in confusion, was driven with his followers across the Goomtee, by Brigadier Horsford's cavalry, and horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Russell, Bart., 7th hussars. All these officers distinguished themselves by the decision and celerity of their movements. Finding, on my arrival at Lucknow on the 28th of November, that I should be obliged to stop there a few days to make certain arrangements, and to meet the demands of the correspondence of the army, the brigade which had latterly accompanied me was not allowed to halt, but was pushed on at once under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., H.M.'s 20th foot, to assist in the reduction of the Seetapore district. On the 2nd of December, Brigadier Eveleigh occupied the fort of Oomeriah, after a sharp resistance; he remained there for three days, engaged in levelling it to the ground. This fort, owing to its position, had hitherto barred the north-west road from Lucknow, and had been for a long time a source of much inconvenience. Brigadier Horsford, having completed his prescribed duty on the right bank of the Goomtee, had now marched through Lucknow. Another brigade, formed under Brigadier Purnell, C.B., H.M.'s 90th light infantry, at Nuwabgunge Barabunkee, was joined to him.

"I left Lucknow on the 5th of December, and reached Beyram Ghât, with Brigadier Horsford's brigade, on the next day. I found Bainie Madhoo's followers, who had retreated before Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael, still lingering on the opposite side of the river. Sir Hope Grant having been previously ordered to occupy Secrora in their rear, they quickly disappeared, and retreated northwards as soon as they became aware of his march from Gonda to that place.

"It appeared to me unavailing to delay the campaign during the tedious process of collecting boats and materials to bridge the Gogra. Leaving, therefore, Brigadier Purnell with his brigade to effect that purpose, I marched at the rate of twenty miles a day to Fyzabad, crossed the Gogra at that place, and thence proceeded, in two marches, to Secrora, followed by Colonel Christie,



H.M.'s 80th foot, with a detail of troops. Sir Hope Grant waited to receive me at Secroa by appointment, while his troops had been already pushed on one march on their way to Bulrampore, on the Raptce.

"The major-general was now instructed to commence his movement immediately on Toolseypore, by causing Brigadier Rowcroft to bring forward his right shoulder, and invade the Toolseypore territory from the north-west corner of Gornickpore. A strong post was also formed at Simree, to ward off the chance of the brigadier's advance being turned to the eastward. Bala Rao was reported to hold Toolseypore in considerable strength. I then marched forward to Bareitch with Brigadier Horsford, the begum and her forces retiring from Boonadee, and the Nana from Bareitch, as I moved on. At the same time Brigadier Eveleigh, who had been directed on Fyzabad, was ordered to take post at Gonda, to form a reserve to the columns moving northward to settle the country and level the fort. Brigadier Purnell was desired to assist in the guard of the Gogra to the north-west; one of his regiments, H.M.'s 23rd fusiliers, marching up the small Doab, between the Chowka and Surjoo, to Mullapore, with two guns and a detachment of irregular cavalry. In the same manner Brigadier Troupe (Bengal native infantry), who, after the fall of Biswa, had taken post at Jehangirabad on the Chowka, was ordered to throw H.M.'s 60th, rifles, with two guns and a detachment of cavalry, across that stream, and to extend the remainder of his force to the left.

"The various forces at Mohumdee, Shah-jehanpore, Phillibheet, Madho, Tenda, &c., on the Rohilcund frontier, were put well on the alert, so that no resource might be left to the rebel forces but to surrender or to take to the hills of Nepaul. To cause this pressure to be still more felt before the last advance was made, Colonel Christie was detached from Bareitch, and ordered to march up the left bank of the Surjoo to Durmapore. He left Bareitch on the 21st, the movement of the various columns having been delayed by rain for some days.

"On the 23rd I left Bareitch, passed Nanparah on the 26th, and after marching twenty miles in the day, attacked a considerable body of rebels at Burguddiah. Their left flank was turned. They fled after making a slight resistance, and were pursued until nightfall, leaving their guns in

our hands. On the 27th the force marched on the fort of Mujidiah. This place was taken after three hours of vertical fire from two mortars, and a cannonade from an 18-pounder and an 8-inch howitzer; the infantry being carefully laid out to command the enemy's embrasures and parapets.

"I have much satisfaction in dwelling on the manner in which this fort was captured, with a very trifling amount of loss to the troops engaged. The chief engineer, Colonel Harness, royal engineers, has reported it to be one of the strongest, as respects artificial defences, that he had seen in India. But, like all others, it was without bomb-proof cover, and, consequently, fell easily into our hands, after a few hours of well-directed fire. As your lordship is aware, every brigade has been carefully provided throughout the war, since the fall of Lucknow, with heavy guns, to ensure similar results in the attack of the forts of Oude. The following detail of troops were at army head-quarters:—F troop royal horse artillery, half a heavy field battery royal artillery, 23rd company royal engineers, head-quarters and 150 sabres (carabiniers), 7th (Queen's own) hussars, squadron of 6th Madras light cavalry, head-quarters and eight companies of H.M.'s 20th regiment, 2nd battalion rifle brigade, 1st Belooch battalion, detachment of Oude police; joined, on the evening of that day, by the 1st Punjab cavalry.

"On the 29th, the troops returned to Nanparah, and made a forced march on the night of the 30th to the vicinity of Bankee, where the enemy had loitered under the Nana. He was surprised and attacked with great vigour, driven through a jungle which he attempted to defend, and, finally, into and across the Raptce, the 7th hussars entering that river with the fugitives. On this occasion, the troops distinguished themselves, more particularly the 2nd battalion rifle brigade under Colonel Hill, and the 7th hussars, under Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Russell. I have to deplore the loss of Major Horne, 7th hussars, who was drowned in the waters of the Raptce. He had the left wing of the regiment. Captain Stisted, who led the 1st squadron, was rescued with great difficulty from a similar fate. The next day it was reported that all the bodies of rebels which had been retreating before us from the day of our arrival at Beyram Ghât, had either surrendered or passed the Nepaul frontier. In these

various affairs eighteen guns fell into our hands.

"Colonel Christie had a successful skirmish on the 23rd of December, and took two guns in the pursuit. He then made a circuit to the north by Pudnaha, and rejoined my camp on the 3rd of January. In the meantime Brigadier Rowcroft attacked Toolseypore on the 23rd of December, driving Bala Rao from that point to the foot of the mountains, and taking two guns. Sir Hope Grant was alarmed about his flank being turned to the eastward and to the north of Goruckpore. Acting according to his instructions, and with great judgment, he made that point absolutely safe before renewing his attack on Bala Rao. That being done, he advanced through the jungles on that leader, and took fifteen guns from him, almost without the show of resistance on the part of the rebels; the latter dispersing and seeking refuge in the adjacent hills, and Bala Rao flying into the interior, as the Nana, his brother, had done before him.

"Thus has the contest in Oude been brought to an end, and the resistance of 150,000 armed men been subdued with a very moderate loss to her majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy. For the present Brigadier Horsford has been left watching the Nepaul frontier, where the Raptée debouches from the mountains. A similar arrangement will be made in the Toolseypore district. I propose to give charge of the position to Sir Hope Grant, and to return to Lucknow myself forthwith. I desire to offer my particular acknowledgments to the chief commissioner of Oude, Mr. Montgomery, for the cordiality and good-will with which he has been pleased to co-operate with me in the execution of his high office. The instructions issued by him to the officers under his orders were most eminently calculated to facilitate the progress and efforts of the troops. His two representatives in my camp, Major Barrow, C.B., special commissioner, and Major Bruce, C.B., superintendent of the Oude police, won my warmest thanks for the manner in which they have given effect to the instructions of the chief commissioner.

"Sir Hope Grant's despatches, during the last six months, have told the story of the admirable part taken by him in this war. I cannot say too much in his praise. He has the rare merit of uniting the greatest

boldness in action, a firm and correct judgment, and the most scrupulous regard for his orders and instructions. I desire also to recommend to your excellency's most favourable consideration, the officers who have commanded brigades, at different times, in the army of Oude. Some have been employed in more active situations than others, but all have acted with real zeal and devotion to the common cause. I therefore include them in one list:—The late Colonel Berkeley, C.B., H.M.'s 32nd light infantry; Brigadier Horsford, C.B., rifle brigade; Brigadier Taylor, C.B., 79th highlanders; Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., 20th regiment; Brigadier Purnell, C.B., 90th light infantry; Brigadier Parker, C.B., royal artillery; Brigadier Weatherall, C.B., unattached; Brigadier Pinckney, C.B., 73rd regiment; Brigadier Hall, C.B., 82nd regiment; Brigadier the Hon. P. Herbert, C.B., 82nd regiment; Brigadier Jones, C.B., 6th dragoon guards; Brigadier Hagart, C.B., 7th hussars; Brigadier Troupe, Bengal native infantry; Brigadier Fischer, Madras native infantry; Colonel Kelly, C.B., 34th regiment; Colonel Christie, 80th regiment.

"I refrain from troubling your excellency with a long list of the officers who have commanded regiments and have filled the subordinate staff appointments. I wish to say that they and the men under their command, throughout the long struggle carried on without intermission in every season of the year (ten months having elapsed since the fall of Lucknow, during which they have ever kept the field), have been distinguished by a discipline and a constancy unsurpassed in any war. The service was attended by great fatigue, by never-ceasing sickness, and was performed alike during the intense heat of the summer, the languor of the Indian rains, and the more bracing season of winter. But the discipline of her majesty's troops never swerved. All ranks have emulated one another in their exertions. For this we have to thank the high sense of duty and the personal example of regimental commanders and staff officers, and watchful and provident care of the staff and regimental surgeons, and the admirable spirit which animates the soldiers of her majesty's regiments of every denomination. It is, indeed, a subject of pride to have had the honour of commanding such an army.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without referring to the very great and cordial



assistance which I have constantly received from Major-general Sir W. Mansfield, K.C.B., the chief of the staff. As it seems probable that active operations will now cease, I have the greatest pleasure in seizing the opportunity of recording my grateful sense of what I owe to this officer, and of recommending him in the strongest possible manner for the favourable consideration of your excellency. Sir W. Mansfield executed all the details of the various operations which I had thought it advisable to order, with the greatest ability, and showed the most unwearied diligence in directing, as was necessary, the simultaneous movements of so many bodies of troops scattered often in small detachments over a very great extent of country, and his care and attention have in a great measure tended to bring about the very rapid and favourable results which have been obtained, and the course of which has been already related. The officers who have more particularly worked under the chief of the staff during the last year, as regards the execution of their various offices in respect of the war, are Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, officiating quartermaster-general of the army; and Captain Allgood, assistant-quartermaster-general. The merits of Major Norman are well known to your excellency, and he has continued to deserve my highest approbation. Colonel Macpherson has always performed his duty to my satisfaction, and he has found a very able and industrious assistant in Captain Allgood. The latter has been with me from the time I first took the field in 1857. I have the honour to recommend these three officers to your excellency's favourable notice.

"It remains for me to solicit your excellency's protection to the officers of my personal staff, and of that of Sir William Mansfield. I am under real obligation to my military secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., who has ever been employed in the most confidential and important manner, throughout the transactions of the past year, to my entire satisfaction.

"The other officers alluded to have performed their duties in the most careful, intelligent, and active manner. They are as follows:—Lieutenant-colonel Metcalfe, 4th Europeans, Persian interpreter. Captain Alison, H.M.'s 19th foot. Lieutenant Hon. J. C. Dormer, H.M.'s 13th light

infantry, A.D.C. to myself. Lieutenant-colonel Crealock, H.M.'s 90th light infantry, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general to the chief of the staff. Lieutenant Hood, H.M.'s 53rd regiment, A.D.C. Captain Viscount Dangan, Coldstream guards, acting A.D.C.—I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your excellency's very obedient, humble servant,—CLYDE,

"General Commander-in-Chief."

*List of Enclosures to the Despatch of the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief, dated 7th January, 1859.*

"1. Casualty return of troops engaged under the orders of the commander-in-chief, on the 26th and 27th of December, 1858. (It shows thirteen wounded).

"2. Casualty return of troops engaged under the orders of the commander-in-chief, on the 31st of December, 1858. (One officer, Major F. W. Horne, drowned; two men killed, and seven wounded).

"3. Return of ordnance captured from the enemy on the 26th, 27th, and 31st of December, 1858. (Eighteen pieces).

"4. Copy of casualty return of the troops under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., at Oomeriah, 2nd December, 1858. (Eighteen Europeans and two natives wounded).

"5. Copy of return of casualties of the troops under Colonel S. T. Christie, in action at Bussingpore, on the 23rd of December, 1858. (One native officer killed, one European officer wounded, and one native officer and two men wounded).

"6. Copy of casualty return of troops under Brigadier Rowcroft, C.B., in action at Toolseypore, on the 23rd of December, 1858. (Six killed and eighteen wounded).

"7. Copy of return of casualties in the cavalry brigade at Kumbda Kote, on the 4th of January, 1859. (Three wounded).

"8. Copy of return of ordnance captured by the force under Major-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., on the 4th of January, 1859. (Fifteen pieces).

"J. H. W. NORMAN, Major,

"Deputy Adjutant-general of the Army."

The above important despatch was gazetted with the following notification of the Indian government:—

"His excellency the governor-general directs the publication of the subjoined despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief. In it Lord Clyde announces that the campaign in which the troops under his immediate command have been engaged,

is closed, and that rebellion no longer exists in Oude.

"The governor-general seizes the earliest opportunity of tendering his warmest thanks to the commander-in-chief, and to the noble army which he leads, for their accomplishment of this good work. By a large and complete scheme of combined operations, laid down carefully, and carried out inflexibly and irresistibly, this happy result has been achieved without a single check, and with no needless waste of life. The authority of the British government has been asserted mercifully in Oude; but it is now established, and made manifest to all, and from this day it shall be maintained in unassailable strength.

"The governor-general desires to record his special acknowledgments to Major-general Sir Hope Grant, K.C.B., and to Major-general Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., for the new services rendered by those distinguished officers in this campaign. His lordship also desires to thank the officers who have commanded brigades, and the regimental commanders of the army of Oude, for the complete success to which, each in his part, they have contributed. The best acknowledgments of the governor-general are due to Major Norman, Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, Captain Allgood, and the officers of the army, staff, and to Colonel Sterling, C.B., and the personal staff at head-quarters, for the efficient assistance which they have given to the commander-in-chief.

"The governor-general well knows the value to be attached to the judgment, temper, and energy of the chief commissioner of Oude, and thoroughly appreciates the importance of the co-operation which the commander-in-chief and the army have received from him. His lordship emphatically thanks Mr. Montgomery for his admirable service to the state as the head of the local government in Oude. The difficult functions entrusted to Major Barrow, C.B., special commissioner in the commander-in-chief's camp, and to Major Bruce, C.B., superintendent of police in Oude, have throughout the campaign been discharged judiciously and successfully, and with a zeal which calls for the governor-general's special acknowledgments.

"It will be very gratifying to the governor-general to bring to the notice of the Queen's government, the exemplary manner in which the Queen's army in Oude, and

the officers attached to it, have done their duty.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Major-general,

"Sec. to the Gov. of India, Mil. Dep.,  
with the Governor-general."

At an early hour of the morning of the 8th of January, the camp of the commander-in-chief was struck while it was yet dark; and, as the dawn approached, a thick dense fog encompassed the force as in an impenetrable cloud. Nevertheless, Lord Clyde, with the carabinieri, a party of Hodson's horse, a wing of the Beloochees, Lennox's company of sappers, H.M.'s 20th regiment, and Fraser's troop of royal artillery, set forward on his homeward march. As the baggage had to defile through the narrow path cut in the jungle, on the advance of the troops the first march was short, and they encamped about four miles south of Bankee, the scene of the affair with the enemy on the 26th of December. On the following morning the march was resumed before daybreak; and as, in the course of the day, the route took it within a few miles of Churdah—for several months the residence of Nana Rao (Nana Sahib)—the commander-in-chief left his dhooly, and, mounting an elephant, proceeded with his staff to visit the fort, which was found to be of considerable strength, and well sheltered on three sides by a belt of jungle; but as it was situated in a wide level plain, and the jungle was not broad, and therefore afforded no sure protection, the Nana, as the storm of war approached his lair, abandoned it for a more favourable position, from whence to ensure a safe retreat, and fell back on Burguddiah, from whence it was afterwards ascertained he escaped into Nepaul. Churdah had been deserted, nothing being found alive within it but one wounded bullock. About 11 o'clock the column halted at Nanparah for a short time, and thence resuming the march, pitched their tents at Kootawah, seventeen and a-half miles from the starting-point in the morning; and so, on and on, until Lucknow was again reached.

In the amusing description of incidents which varied the progress of the war, as furnished by the *Times'* correspondent (Mr. Russell), we are told, in reference to the march of the 9th of January, that—"The evening before, just at dusk, a large bear ambled out on the plain close to our camp, in front of some officers who had been beating the adjoining wood for game. Captain Bradford fired at him with his revolving rifle,



and the second shot struck Bruin, who stood on his hind legs, and made a demonstration of assault; but seeing several sportsmen coming up eagerly, he thought it better to bear the ills he had, than fly to others which he knew not of, and so ambled off and made his exit growling. Tigers' tracks were visible all round our camp; and though they did not, as at Nanparah, interfere with our postal arrangements, they, conjointly with the rumours of lurking sepoys, prevented that free excursive investigation of the jungles which would otherwise, no doubt, have been effected. When we left, a large expedition, with beaters and elephants, was being organised; but it takes time to make proper preparations for a hunt; and in such a volatile column as ours, there is little time for aught but eating, sleeping, and marching. As the camp animals go out to graze—thousands of camels, elephants, ponies, buffaloes, and bullocks, for many miles round the camp—the wild denizens of the forest are frightened, and go off to great distances, where it is necessary to track and mark them down before a party can start with any chance of success. The day we arrived on the Raptee, I saw two huge wolves close at hand in the thick grass by the river; to-day two were seen within a hundred yards of the head of the column; and herds of antelope and spotted deer, rise up and flee away from our videttes and flankers, to the despair of the sportsmen, who must keep with their men on the line of march. As to the flocks of wild geese, ducks, and teal—the wonderful long-legged, long-necked waders—cranes, black and white; plover, snipe, quail of many sizes, colours, and varieties, which are seen in the early morning, or the course of a march, no place I have ever visited, except the Steppe of Southern Russia, can afford such abundance and diversity of species as those northern plains of Oude. The thickets are haunted by peacocks and peahens, and by the beautiful jungle fowl, the original stock of our own dear chanticleer and dame partlet. In the long coarse grass nibble and gambol hares, much persecuted by falcons and silver foxes. In the same haunts are the beautiful black partridge, and his less eatable gray congener. Fly-catchers, from the lively, audacious, and gallant king-crow, down to a tiny little green fellow, with a yellow foraging-cap, not bigger than a wren, flit over the fields in all directions. The air is filled with the

screams of green paroquets, which flash in broad streams of colour, and in hundreds at a time, from tope to tope, helped well by the never-ceasing chorus of the animated impudent minas. The large blue jay is common, and tamer, as well as more brilliant, than the keeper's enemy in England. Shrikes are common on every wild hedge—the large gray—the small brown butcher-bird, with a white streak over the eye, and white head, and two sombre-coloured varieties of larger size. The titmouse is boring away amid every thatched roof, but none of the varieties resemble our English friends. Over every large jeel hover fish-hawks, mews, and large kingfishers, which dart down right under water, after a fluttering pause twenty or thirty feet above the surface of the water. On every side there is life enshrined in forms strange and beautiful; but it can only be described by the scientific naturalist who can devote more time to his subject than he could find at the head of a column marching twenty miles a-day."

Again, adverting more immediately to the column itself, he says—"I can compare a column on the march to nothing handy to my mind, except a block of omnibuses in Fleet-street, when the foot-paths are thronged with foot-passengers, and the interstices of the larger vehicles grouted in with Hansoms and cabs. The column is but a small, compact, orderly body; but on each side of it, and behind it miles back, are elephants, camels, and horses enough for the grand army. A hundred and sixty elephants make a great show. The monster, however, costs for his keep only 2s. a-day. A camel costs from 16s. to 20s. a-month, and carries about 400 lbs. The load of an elephant varies with his size from 1,000 lbs. to 1,600 lbs. He is generally used to carry tents and stores, and to draw heavy guns; but he is largely used by the officers' servants as a means of conveyance; and six, seven, and even eight bearers, khitmutgurs, and chuprassies, may be seen seated on the pad, and sixty or seventy elephants may be seen heaped up with light-coloured groups of Madrassees and Bengalese, towering over the cates, and moving steadily along the flanks of the march. A most quaint and peculiar animal is the tattoo, or native pony. He is not as large as the smallest of English donkeys (Indian asses are about the size of a new-born calf, only they are not so long in the legs); his hind legs are

generally distorted by premature and overloading; he is often short of the usual allowance of eyes or ears, and is altogether a most miserable, mangy, starved, and worthless-looking creature. Nevertheless, in love or war, he is animated by the highest spirit, and he is ready at all times to engage the largest and fiercest horse in battle, and neighs his addresses to the proudest mare from Arabia. There are hundreds and hundreds of them attached to the bazaar people. They carry the goods and families of the merchants, and all the followers of trades and professions which may be found there. Officers bestride them on the route, and the sergeants of some regiments seem to be specially privileged to hire them as chargers while marching. The bazaar woman, seated on a pile of curious merchandise, with her legs projecting over his neck, a child on her hip, and another in her arms, directs the course of the 'tat' with her toes, and thinks nothing of giving a friend 'a lift;' so that, at last, all that may be seen of the quadruped are its wretched rag of a tail, its ragged legs, and a dilapidated head, moving along under an enormous heap of animated and inorganic matter. Next to the 'tats,' the most numerous animals are goats. The Indian goat is a clean, docile, handsome creature, abounding in kids and milk. There are probably 1,000 or 1,500 of these animals in different flocks with our camp, each flock belonging to a small milkman, whose 'walk' is very extensive, averaging twenty miles a-day. The agents of the establishment are women, who carry the milk along the march, or in camp, in bright brass vessels, on their heads; and grateful to the thirsty private who has a few pice in his pocket, is the well-known cry of 'lai dood,' as was the announcement of 'fresh oysters' to the proprietor of the 'Splendid Shilling.' Next to the goats and asses are indubitably the monkeys. Poor Jacko is to be seen on all sides in a state of durance vile, in chattering rage and indignation, riding on the top of a camel—old, young, and middle aged—shaved, and with clothes on their back, rugged as *au naturel*, tailed, tailless, grave, stupid, lively, running along on all-fours, or placidly sitting in a cart or dhooly. There are also pretty pets—antelopes, deer, and young neilghye, which accompany us faithfully; and, of course, the subaltern has his terrier, or his dog or dogs of some sort or other, to which confidential attendants are attached or

dhoolies appropriated. Then there are the gun bullocks and the bazaar hackeries, drawn by oxen; and the spare oxen, the bheesties' bullocks, and the butcher's sheep and cattle. Then there are private stores. A regimental mess will order, perhaps, 100 dozen of beer, 150 dozen of port and sherry, 60 dozen of champagne at a time, not to mention groceries and stores of various sorts; and these move along with us. Coolies may be seen carrying each a chair or a table, or a fowling-piece, or even a spare cap. What wonder, then, that there are 4,000 men hanging on the skirts of this column, who have no ostensible mode of life, who are not engaged in any known way in the bazaars—which, by the way, are very dirty collections of very dirty little tents, in which all sorts of things can be had for money—and who do not draw rations from the commissariat. Those natives to whom rations are issued, amount to about two-and-a-half to each fighting-man. Some officers have as many as forty servants in the field. Each has an attendant sprite or two—possibly a wife, a child, a mother, a father, who follow his daily fortunes. There is a perfect chorus of camp-followers in a state of infancy; and studies from the nude are afforded by little black imps toddling about the horses' feet, to any who may like to take them. What becomes of these generations when an army is broken up, is a question I have asked in vain. Surmises do not solve the problem; but I should say early education of this kind was not exactly a promising preparation for the more sober pursuits of trade and commerce. In a fog, the *mélange* is not agreeable; and I was heartily glad when I could see my way through elephants, camels, goats, tats, and babies this morning, and get a good gallop in front of the column."

Shortly after the return of Lord Clyde to Lucknow, and while slowly recovering from the injury sustained by his fall, and the fatigue of the campaign, he learnt that Jung Bahadoor had issued a proclamation, declaring "that all murderers and rebels in arms who entered the Nepaul territory were to be given up to the British government, and that all armed bodies would be utterly destroyed." At the same time, Jung Bahadoor applied to the commander-in-chief for assistance to reduce the rebels within his territories. Lord Clyde complied with the request, and dispatched orders to Brigadier Horsford, who lay at Bankee



with a company of Bengal artillery, H.M.'s 20th foot, 1st Sikh and 5th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Punjab cavalry, to cross the Raptée and enter Nepaul, to aid the Jung Bahadoor in his friendly effort to expel or exterminate the enemies of the British government.

By this time nearly the whole territory of Oude was in the hands of the civil administration, and its complete reorganisation was progressing favourably; to effect which, a settlement of the land on the Zemindaree principle was gradually making its way, and appeared to be received with satisfaction by the people, who began to settle down quietly under the protection of the military police, which had been distributed in their arranged positions over the country. There was, consequently, no longer in Oude an enemy to contend with; and as the presence of a large force was therefore unnecessary, the commander-in-chief issued orders for the reduction and distribution of the army, from a total of thirty-five regiments of infantry, eleven of cavalry, twenty-eight companies or troops of artillery, and five of sappers—to twenty regiments of foot, and eight of cavalry, seventeen companies or troops of artillery, and three of sappers. Of the force which remained in Oude, the chief part was concentrated at Lucknow—consisting of Soady's and Mackenzie's companies of artillery; the 1st reserve company 6th battalion Bengal artillery, and Olphert's company; the 24th company of royal engineers; 15th Punjab pioneers; 1st battalion 23rd fusiliers; 88th Connaught rangers; 2nd battalion of the rifle brigade; 2nd dragoon guards, and 2nd Hodson's horse.

Seetapore was garrisoned by Hiddlestone's E troop of the royal artillery; the 4th company of the 4th battalion Bengal artillery; the 60th rifles; 1st battalion of H.M.'s 90th; the 69th Ghoorkas; and the 4th and 8th irregular cavalry: Goruckpore being held by the 5th company 12th battalion royal artillery, with battery; H.M.'s 13th and 73rd, and Jat horse: Fyzabad, by the 5th company 3rd battalion J. L. field battery, royal artillery; H.M.'s 34th, 54th, and 9th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Hodson's horse: Roy Bareilly, by the 4th company No. 3 light field battery; H.M.'s 38th and 42nd highlanders; 19th Punjab infantry, and 1st Sikh cavalry: Ghazepore, by H.M.'s 37th.

Thus, Lucknow in the centre, Seetapore

north-west, Fyzabad and Roy Bareilly east and south, constituted the chief garrisons of Oude: but, lest the rebels, driven from Nepaul by the firm attitude of Jung Bahadoor, should again attempt to re-enter their old haunts in force, Brigadier Horsford was to be maintained on the borders of Nepaul with the 3rd company Bengal artillery, H.M.'s 20th foot, 1st Sikh infantry, 5th Punjab infantry, and 1st Punjab cavalry; while H.M.'s 53rd remained on the frontier near Toolseypore.

Of the eleven companies or troops of artillery which left Oude, Fraser's I troop went to Meerut; Calvert's company, to Benares; Le Messurier's and Kaye's, to Allahabad; Smith's, to Futteghur; Money's, to Umballah; Remington's, to Muttra; the 2nd company 3rd battalion, and the reserve company 5th battalion Bengal artillery, to Cawnpore; and the A company of Madras artillery, to the Saugor districts.

Of the infantry corps, H.M.'s 64th, and 3rd battalion rifle brigade, were sent to Agra; the Belooch battalion to Jhansie; H.M.'s 1st battalion 6th foot, to Benares; H.M.'s 79th highlanders, and Ferozepore regiment, to the Punjab; H.M.'s 1st battalion 5th fusiliers, and 77th, to Allahabad; H.M.'s 80th, to Cawnpore; 1st battalion 8th foot, to Futteghur; H.M.'s 97th, to Banda; 1st Bengal fusiliers, and 93rd highlanders, to the Hills at Dugshaie and Subathoo; the Sirmoor battalion, to Delra Doon; and the Kumaon battalion, to Kumaon. The 7th hussars marched to Umballah; the 6th dragoon guards, to Agra and Muttra; the 9th lancers, to Cawnpore, and ultimately to England. The Bengal sappers proceeded to Roorkee; the Madras sappers, to Banda. Jones's, Hagart's, Pinckney's, Eveleigh's, Taylor's, Troupe's, and Purnell's brigades, were broken up; Barker's, Horsford's, Rowcroft's, and Walpole's, remained; and Maude's battery received orders for England. And so ended the campaign in Oude.

Even amongst the most critically disposed, it was felt that it would be absurd and unjust to deny, that both the progress and result of the campaign were most creditable, as well on the part of the chief commissioner as of Lord Clyde. It was but on the 1st of November that active operations in Oude could be said to have commenced; and at that time the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad were the only two positions of

importance in the hands of the British. The country between those two points was, it is true, comparatively quiet; but there were still great armies in the field. On the Oude side of the Gogra, at least three formidable bodies were in motion. Seven great fortresses were in the hands of rebels; and the total number of troops arrayed against the government, was officially estimated at 60,000 men. Beyond the Gogra, the begum still paid some 12,000 men; and a band, perhaps equal in numbers, occupied Toolseypore. The Nana had with him a strong body of cavalry; and Feroze Shah was attended by at least 1,500 more: and all these bands of rebels were strengthened and encouraged to an inconceivable degree by the sympathy of their countrymen. They could march without commissariat, for the people would always feed them. They could leave their baggage without guard, for the people would not attack it. They were always certain of their position, and of that of the British, for the people brought them hourly information, and no design could possibly be kept from them; while secret sympathisers stood

around every mess-table, and waited in almost every tent. No surprise could be effected but by a miracle; while rumour, communicated from mouth to mouth, outstripped even the cavalry. The commander-in-chief had, indeed, a well-appointed army, but still a small one; as it did not, from the first, at any time number 26,000 men of all ranks. Yet, in two months, without one serious departure from the plan of campaign originally laid down, Oude was completely subjugated; its forts were taken and destroyed; its leaders, with two great exceptions, captured; its armies beaten down and fugitive; its people disarmed; while civil government was in a progressive state of re-establishment; and the revenue once more began rapidly to pour into the public treasury. To assert that such results as these were owing to nothing more than mere chance, was now felt, even by the bitterest opponents of the government, to be equally false and calumnious; and thus, at last, the governor-general and the commander-in-chief were unanimously admitted to have done their duty, and to have done it well.

## CHAPTER XIX.

OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL INDIA; PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE; FORCED MARCHES; DIVISION IN THE REBEL CAMP; AFFAIR AT NAHIRGHUR; THE ROHILLAS AT CHICHUMBA AND DIGRUS; UTTER DISPERSION OF THEIR FORCES; NEPAUL; DESPERATE CONDITION OF THE FUGITIVE REBELS FROM OUDE; THE BEGUM AND HER CHIEFS; CORRESPONDENCE WITH JUNG BAHADOOR; MISSION OF BUDDRI SING FROM THE NEPAULESE COURT; BRIGADIER HORSFORD'S ADVANCE INTO NEPAUL; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS AT THE SITKA GHAUT; CORRESPONDENCE; BLOCKADE OF THE PASSES FROM NEPAUL; MURDER OF RAILWAY ENGINEERS AT ETAWAH; FEROZE SHAH AND RAO SAHIB; GENERAL MICHEL OUT-MANŒUVRED; MURDEROUS ATTACK AT HYDERABAD; THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION MISINTERPRETED; RIOTS AT TINNEVELLY AND NAGARCOILE; PRETENDED PLOT AT RAWUL PINDEE; PROGRESS OF TRANQUILLITY IN OUDE; SUBMISSION OF CHIEFS AND SEPOYS; THE ATROCITIES AT CAWNPORE, ETC., SUBSTANTIATED BY NEW EVIDENCE.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the close of the campaign in Oude, that most extraordinary and ubiquitous rebel chief, Tantia Topee, contrived to find employment for the active energies of the government troops, before whom he fled with the erratic speed of an *ignis fatuus*; and who no sooner was known to be assailable in one quarter, than he was also heard of as being present in a far-distant and opposite direction. To meet him was impracticable; to overtake him, seemed impossible; and he continued, at the commencement of 1859, as he had done for

months previous, to harass the troops in quest of him, by continual forced marches and inevitable disappointments.

After crossing the Chumbul at Lakerrie, on the 8th of January, Tantia Topee was enabled to open communication with Feroze Shah, and ultimately joined forces with him in the confined district lying between the rivers Chumbul and Banas. The course of the last-named stream, from the vicinity of Tonk, runs to the east, and, sweeping round the hills, in which is situated the stronghold of Rintamboor, falls into the



Chumbul in about longitude 77°. Rintamboor, the place of meeting originally concerted between the rebel chiefs, is one of those fortresses that abound in India, which date their origin from a period anterior to the use of gunpowder. It is situated on the summit of a rock, isolated on all sides by deep and nearly impassable ravines, and accessible only by a narrow pathway, enclosed on each side by high and overhanging cliffs. The steepness of this pathway increases as it approaches the summit, the latter portion of the ascent being made by flights of stairs hewn from the rock, and passing through four massive gateways in succession. The fort is erected upon the centre of the apex, and is surrounded by a stone rampart nearly three miles in extent, strengthened at intervals by towers and bastions; but notwithstanding its isolated and lofty position, Rintamboor is no longer impregnable, since it is commanded on all sides by heights, from which artillery could play into its very midst; and the chief purpose to which it had of late years been applied, was a magazine for guns and ammunition, of which it contained a large amount, the accumulations of many years by the Thakoors of the state of Jeypore.

The rebels, under their two celebrated leaders, for a short time occupied the eastern portion of the space enclosed by the Banas and the Jumna, Rintamboor being about the centre, and upon which the British columns were fast closing from Nusseerabad, Neemuch, Central India, and Agra, rendering their position one of hourly increasing difficulty. Tantia, and his friend Feroze Shah, accordingly shifted their quarters with all due celerity; and, after severally occupying positions at Iudurghur and Madhopore, again concentrated their forces, on the 12th, at Bugwunghur, from whence, on the 13th, they retired at the approach of Brigadier Smith, and, crossing the Banas, took a direct northerly road to Dhoosa; where, on the 16th, Brigadier Showers, with a column from Agra, came up with them, having marched ninety-four miles in three days. The rebels had the advantage of some difficult ground in their front, and kept up a sharp fire for some time, but were ultimately driven into the plain, and pursued for five miles, with a loss of about 300 of their number; the survivors dispersing in all possible directions.

The affair at Dhoosa is thus described by

an officer attached to the medical department, on service with the column:—

“Camp, Dhoosa, 15th January.

“We have now been out eleven days, during which we have had but one halt—namely, the one in which I am now writing. We are now about 200 miles from Agra. You know the plight in which we left that place. Well, we arrived at Futtehpoore Sikree the next morning, all wet and cold; slept in marble halls without beds, grog, or food; started early in pursuit of Tantia Topee; and, for the last five days, have had no bed to lie on. Well, I despaired of seeing any other Topee except our own Topees (hats), until yesterday, when, after a march of above a hundred miles, the whole of us being mounted on camels and elephants, we came up to him in this place. The enemy is reported to have had about 5,000 cavalry and 500 infantry. We were taking the wrong road; when a native came and told the brigadier that they were about two miles off, and did not expect us. A counter-march was ordered, and in less than half-an-hour we came upon them; and you may be sure we rendered a good account of the lot. The cavalry and our regiment commenced the engagement by a regular skirmish, killing at least 150 of the rascals. After the fight was nearly over, the artillery came up, and sent shot and shells into the retiring enemy with great precision and effect. Tantia was in the field, dressed in green silk; but, as usual, he bolted: some say he was wounded. One great rascal, a chief (I believe his name is Mahommed Shumsabad), is killed. He had on an embroidered cloak, and was remarkably grand after his own fashion. We may well be proud of our regiment. I was in the rear, and could watch its movements. When formed in line, expecting the cavalry to charge, and with the bullets whistling by them like hail, the men were as steady as if on parade. Our casualties were but few.”

After this success, Brigadier Showers retired with his force to Bhurtpoore; leaving the chase to be taken up by Brigadier Honner and a column recently dispatched from Delhi, as it was found that the rebels were making for Ulwur, a district at no great distance from that city; and some anxiety was naturally felt at the prospect of their approach, particularly as the population of the district had always exhibited an unfriendly spirit. Contrary to expectation, although Feroze Shah was enabled, by his

emissaries, to attach a proclamation to the gates of Ulwur, declaring himself sole heir to the dignities and territories of the house of Timur, neither the people nor the soldiers of the contingent gave him the least encouragement or assistance; and he felt it prudent to withdraw with his adherents in a northerly direction, towards Rewaree, an opulent town about forty-seven miles southwest of Delhi, the residence of many wealthy bankers, and abounding in treasure. Fortunately, before the rebels had reached the place, the column from Delhi, under Major Redmond, arrived for its protection; while a body of Van Cortlandt's Punjab cavalry converged on the same place from Kanoud. Having, as usual, timely intelligence of the movements of the government troops, the rebels prudently relinquished the idea of visiting Rewaree, and turned to the westward, in the direction of Narnool. The Delhi column followed in their track, and reached Shahjehanpore, midway between Rewaree and Narnool, on the 17th; and the enemy, pressed by this advance, as well as by the pursuit of Holmes' brigade from the southward, went by Narnool, and made for a pass across the hills into the Shekawattee district by Oodeypore, and thence north-westward to Ramghur, with the intent to plunder it. The following extract from a letter dated "Narnool, January 19th," traces the progress of the column in pursuit of the rebels, up to the date given.

"On the 17th, the Delhi column marched from Rewaree direct to Shahjehanpore, on the northern border of the Ulwur state; while the Towanna horse and Goorgaon mounted police, under Lieutenant Orchard, made a detour eastward by Kishanghur and Barode, in Ulwur, taking in some sixty miles, but with no adventure. Lieutenant Orchard, however, found the Ulwur Thakoors very insolent at Barode. On information received through the Ulwur political, we left Shahjehanpore yesterday morning (the 18th), and marching *via* Neemrana and Kantia, arrived here last evening, after a long march of twenty-seven miles. At Neemrana the rajah's brother came out, and had a conference with the civil functionary and our political, Captain Waterfield, who had joined the column the previous evening. At Kantia we found our ally of Nabha's troops on the *qui vive* for the Baghees, but very anxious for our appearance. The commander of the Nabha force sent out a couple of sowars

yesterday, to pick up information of the rebels' whereabouts; and they fell in with three of their spies—killed one, and captured two of the three horses they had. At Narnool, where we are resting ourselves for the day, there are Putteeala troops, and the rebels were making for it; but learning that we were on the way also, they turned off into the Jeypore country. Yesterday they went into Patun, a town some nine miles from hence, which they plundered, and took three guns from the rajah. They next went to the Neem-kal Thanna, from which place they carried off all the movable guns, and spiked the others. The fighting-men of the rebels are said to number not more than 2,500; but they have at least 7,000 non-combatants in their train, and amongst them a great many women and wounded men, the latter of whom are carried on charpoys. They are now, it is reported, making for Bikaner, where it is said the rajah is at the point of death, having been poisoned by his raneer. Sum-mund Khan, of Jhujjur, is with them, and was coming here to revenge himself upon the Putteeala troops, for his defeat on the 16th of November, 1857; but, of course, our presence has somewhat disarranged his plans. By-the-bye, Pandey's bones are still to be seen here, as we are encamped on that part of the battle-field where the Hurreana force bivouacked on the night of the 16th of November, 1857. They are now organising a flying column here, to consist of cavalry (600 sabres), horse artillery (three guns), and about 200 of European infantry, to be mounted on camels promised by the Ulwur rajah from his camel corps. Captain Impey has gone out to meet Showers at Rajgurh. Mrs. Impey is quite safe in the palace at Ulwur; and Lieutenant Leith, of Jacobs' rifles, is with us. These two officers were recruiting in the Ulwur territory."

On the 21st of the month, the rebel force was again very nearly caught by Brigadier Holmes, who, after marching 294 miles in twelve days, and on the last of them accomplishing fifty-two miles in forty-eight hours, at length came up with Tantia on the morning of the 21st, at Seekur. At the onset, the enemy, taken by surprise, were cut down in all directions, and without attempting to make a stand, sought safety in flight, leaving behind them about 100 killed, besides several horses and 500 stand of arms. Unfortunately, a halt had



taken place in the vicinity of the rebel position, and opportunity was thus afforded for the latter to commence their retreat before the cavalry (200 Sikhs and some new levies) could get to the front, or their loss would have been much more severe. The artillery also moved up too slowly for the occasion, and could only discharge a few shots at the fugitive enemy. From this scene of discomfiture Tantia Topee fled westward to Bikaner,\* which he entered, producing a panic at Hissar, from whence the Europeans, who had re-established themselves at that station, fled with all possible celerity. At this place a division occurred in the rebel councils—Tantia proposing to march southward through Nagpore, into Madras, where he insisted the British were weakly garrisoned; and Feroze Shah and the sepoys objecting to the arrangement. The consequence was, that Tantia, outvoted, was obliged to yield; and on learning that two squadrons of the 6th dragoon guards, some Sikh cavalry, and a party of the rifle brigade, mounted on camels, were in motion from Agra to intercept his movements, he suddenly turned to the north, in the direction of Nunhowe, in the Shekawattee country; in his progress to which, he was for some time closely pursued by the troops under Brigadier Holmes.

For some days the rebel chief contrived to elude observation. At length a portion of the troops, supposed to form the rear-guard of his force, was fallen in with at Koosana, by Brigadier Honner, on the 10th of February. As usual, they did not wait to be attacked, but fled with precipitation; not, however, without serious loss, as between two and three hundred of them were cut down in a hasty pursuit, and an immense quantity of plunder was left as they fled. In this affair it was not believed that Tantia was present, he having left the rebel camp, with 300 chosen horse, some days previous; and, on the 18th, was reported to be within fifty miles of Deesa—a town of Gujerat, eighty-eight miles N.N.W. of Ahmedabad, and at no great distance from the favourite European sanatorium, Mount Aboo, at which place his reported proximity occasioned considerable but ill-founded alarm among its convalescent visitors from Bombay and other places.

\* A fortified town, capital of the Rajpoot state of that name: it is situated about 240 miles W.S.W. of Delhi, and is surrounded by a strong wall flanked with towers, within which are a number of mud

A spirited affair came off, towards the latter end of January, at Nahirghur, near Goonah, from which last-named place a detachment of the 71st highlanders, under the command of Captain Lambton, was proceeding to join the camp of General Sir R. Napier at Seepore, having in charge 226 camels for the Gwalior camel corps. For the guidance of the party, a route had been furnished (in a native character) to one of the duffadars of the camel corps, with verbal instructions to avoid certain towns of known bad repute; but owing to some blunder, perhaps not intentional, the party first went to Chuprah, a place out of the right direction, and from thence marched to Nahirghur, where they encamped close under the wall of the town. A party was immediately afterwards sent into the town for necessary supplies of food and forage, and were insolently refused assistance of any kind by the townspeople, who referred them to the fort, situated in the town. Proceeding to that place, the party found the gates closed against them, and no reply was given to their requisition. Under these circumstances the men returned to the camp; and having made their report, a stronger party, under Lieutenant Leslie, was sent into the place to enforce the demand for supplies. The like ill-success attended this effort, and the party was, moreover, fired upon from the fort as they approached it. Upon hearing the report of the guns at the camp, which itself was within range of the fort, Captain Lambton hastened with the rest of the 71st to the rescue. They were permitted to come within 400 yards of the fort, when a brisk fire from matchlocks, jingals, and small wall-guns, opened upon them. For 300 yards they ran the gauntlet to reach the outer gate, which, though very strong and massive, was burst open by the axe of a pioneer, and the little party rushed in to find a second gate yet more massive than the first, and well defended by matchlockmen, who kept up a hot fire from the curtains above it. The contest was sharp, but it ended in the rebels abandoning the fort by an outlet on the other side, and taking refuge in the jungles. The casualties on the side of the highlanders, were three men wounded; and of the Gwalior

houses painted red, some lofty white buildings, temples, &c., and an extensive citadel. On the north side is a valley tolerably well wooded; but elsewhere all around is an arid desert.

camel corps, a similar number also wounded. The rebels, in their hasty retreat, left behind them in the fort eighteen small iron guns, of native manufacture, loaded and pointed, and a large quantity of native gunpowder and portfire, with some unserviceable tumbrils. The inhabitants, who doubtless felt they had no claim to forbearance on the part of the British troops, also, for the most part, abandoned the place, and for several days it was nearly deserted. Ultimately, however, they appeared to gain more confidence in the moderation of the troops they had insulted, and returned in small bands to reoccupy their deserted homes.

A few days after this affair, a small party of the 8th hussars, and a couple of mortars, arrived at Nahirghur, from Goonah; but there were no longer any rebels to chastise, and the troops were employed in bursting the guns, and blowing up the bastions of the fort. A column from Seepore (thirty miles distant), under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Rich, also marched to the assistance of Captain Lambton, whom it reached on the evening of the 23rd, when all chance of fighting was over.

It afterwards appeared, that the opposition to Captain Lambton's party had been occasioned by some two or three hundred of the Kotah mutineers, who had obtained possession of the fort, and coerced the townspeople, who were not otherwise inclined to be hostile. That the rebels suffered severely, was evident by the quantity of blood which lay on the stone steps leading up to the curtains of the fort—attesting the excellence of the firing of the 71st, whose bullets told through the narrow loopholes.

On the 26th, a reconnoitring party, consisting of 100 of the 71st, 200 of the 25th Bombay native infantry, some irregular cavalry, and 150 of the camel corps (the whole under the command of Captain Little), marched out to a village named Prone, some five miles distant, and suddenly came upon a body of rebel cavalry, who as suddenly vanished into the jungles, where it was useless to pursue them.

The movements of Tantia Topee were again veiled from the general gaze, and speculation had an ample field in discussing his probable whereabouts, and the chances of his next appearance.

The conduct of the Rohillas had for a long period given just cause for disquietude

in various parts of the Deccan, in consequence of their openly avowed sympathy with the Oude leaders and their cause; and at length an opportunity presented itself of manifesting their hostile feeling towards the English, by a series of plundering excursions among the villages and districts assigned to the English by the Nizam, for the maintenance of the contingent of that prince. On one occasion, a party of them was engaged in plundering the town of Adjunta, when Brigadier Hill set out with a column from Oomrawutty, for the purpose of operating upon the robbers at that place, or intercepting them on their way to another point. During the march, intelligence was received by the brigadier that the Rohillas had gone off in the direction of Sonar, where they purposed to continue their depredations. The brigadier at once altered his route in a direction to intercept them, and, on the 15th of January, reached Wakud. At this place, a report, dated "6 A.M., 5th," was received from Colonel J. Campbell, Enam commissioner (then employed on duty at Rissoad, about eight miles from Wakud), stating that a strong body of Rohillas were then plundering the place; and the force at once pushed on for Rissoad in the following order:—One troop of H.M.'s 12th lancers, under Captain Campbell; leading B troop of Madras horse artillery, with four 6-pounder guns, under Captain Cadell; the 2nd H.C. Rissalah, under Captain Clogstoun; the 3rd Rissalah, under Captain Nightingale; the 3rd infantry, under Captain McKinnon; and Lieutenant Henchy's detachment of artillery following. Brigadier Hill, with his brigade-major (Captain Hoseason) and orderly officer (Lieutenant Henchy), headed the column.

On nearing Rissoad, the 2nd Rissalah was thrown out to the right, and the 3rd Rissalah to the left, with a view of surrounding the village; and as the lancers and guns reached it, the brigadier was met by the commissioner, Colonel J. Campbell, with information that the Rohillas had "looted" the village, and killed several of the inhabitants; and further, that they had plundered his tents and baggage, besides firing on himself and his people, and had then left the place more than an hour. The lancers and horse artillery were immediately ordered in pursuit, and, guided by Colonel J. Campbell, followed in the direction supposed to be taken by the rebels.



Captain Clogstoun, pushing on rapidly with his Rissalah, was first on the right track of the Rohillas; and distancing the greater part of his force, the captain, with eight of his men, came up with the plunderers just as they reached the village of Chichumba. He charged them most gallantly, and inflicted severe loss; but his own little band suffered severely—four out of the eight being killed, and three others severely wounded. The escape of Captain Clogstoun himself was extraordinary, as he appeared to have been made a target of by the Rohillas, and was struck on the thigh by a bullet, which passed through his holster-pipe, knocking the pistol out of it. When his regiment got up, he took a position within 300 or 400 yards of the village; and the 3rd Rissalah, which had made a circuit round the village of Rissoad, shortly after came in view, and took a position to the left of the 2nd. Brigadier Hill, with the lancers and horse artillery, having also got into position, the guns opened upon the village and ghurree, cavalry being placed so as to encircle the village and prevent the escape of the enemy. A heavy fire was kept up until about half-past two in the afternoon, when the infantry arrived, and an assault was ordered, the brigadier himself leading the party, accompanied by Captain Hoseason, Captain McKinnon, and Lieutenant Henchy. As the head of the column entered the village, Captain McKinnon fell mortally wounded. Several of the men were struck down at the same time, and Captain Hoseason was also severely wounded. Unfortunately, the column had been led in a direction which took it into the densest part of the village, from every corner of which, and also from the ghurree, which commanded the streets, a very heavy fire was kept up; and the column, after an ineffectual attempt to penetrate through the place, fell into confusion, and was compelled to retire. The artillery was then moved up to within 150 yards of the houses, and poured in a sharp fire of round shot and grape, under cover of which the infantry was enabled to rally. The operations for the day ceased at this juncture (5 P.M.); and orders being given for securely investing the place during the night, the troops, who had been upon the march, and without food, since the previous evening, partook of refreshment.

At 9 P.M., an alarm was given that the Rohillas were escaping from the village at

the only uncovered point. The 2nd Rissalah were instantly in their saddles, and dashed after the fugitives, upon whom they inflicted severe punishment. Captain Clogstoun pursued them over some very difficult ground to a range of heights covered with low jungle, a level space on the top enabling him to again attack the enemy with advantage, until they took shelter in a deep ravine, where further pursuit by cavalry was impossible. The loss of the enemy upon this occasion was severe; and the moral effect of the blow, falling so swiftly on the perpetrators of the attack on Rissoad (the first of the villages in the assigned districts which had yet been molested), appeared to have a salutary effect. The dispersion of the Rohillas was complete; and from this time they appear to have gradually melted away from before the formidable preparations which had been made for their repression by General Sir Hugh Rose, by whose orders a formidable body of European and native troops left Jaulna on the 11th of February, in a north-easterly direction. This force comprised three companies of the 18th royal Irish, one troop of the 3rd dragoon guards, Kinloch's battery of horse artillery, and two companies of the 3rd native light infantry. At the same time, two light field batteries, a siege-train, a detachment of sappers, two regiments of native infantry, and the head-quarters of a European corps, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. In consequence of these arrangements, troops were removed from Ahmednuggur, and changes were made in the garrison at Sattara; and the preparations altogether betokened a resolution to put down an enemy disposed to, and capable of making, a formidable resistance. The information upon which Sir H. Rose acted, was solely dependent upon the civil commissioner, Mr. Bullock, who appeared to be unaware that the affair of Chichumba had thoroughly cowed the enemy. The following details, however, proved that, at the very moment when all these preparations were in hand, the object for which they were made had already been accomplished by the Berar field force, under Brigadier Hill:—

"After a halt of two days (16th to the 18th of January) at Chichumba, the Berar field force moved on to Ittoly, twenty-four miles, it having been reported that a body of Rohillas had been there. On arrival, we found that they had passed through,

bearing with them some wounded. A few prisoners were made in the village, and, together with our wounded, sent into Hingolec. Ittoly possessed a very strong brick ghurree; but it has just been destroyed, as well as the ghurree of Bamnee and that of Wussa. The force moved on from this place to Bogaon. There, in the morning, there was a false alarm of rebels. Captain Nightingale took a party of troopers and searched for them; but they had no existence, except in the diseased imagination of a native. The country about here, which is called the Bara-huttee, and is also known as the Naikwara, is naturally strong, and capable of affording refuge to marauders in the hills and ravines; to say nothing of the numerous forts, which ought all, without exception, to be destroyed. The ghurree was destroyed afterwards. We next moved to Jhittoor, which is a large town and abiding-place of Rohillas. These, however, had fled. Indeed, as we proceeded, we found that the panic caused by the Chichumba fight was so great, that there was hardly a rebel in all the district. Lieutenant Stewart was sent, with a party of troopers, to search Bamnee for rebels, but could find none, though some of their plunder was discovered. Next day, Lieutenant Johnson was sent, with a troop of the 3rd cavalry, to patrol to the eastward, but found no signs of marauders. From thence the force went to Chartarah, from whence patrols were sent out to a great distance; but they reported the whole district clear of insurgents. We then went back to Jhittoor; and the next day made a march of twenty-six miles, and surrounded the village of Jowla, where we seized a 'Peerzadah,' who is at the bottom of most of these disturbances. He is the 'peer' of the Nizam himself, for which reason the zemindars were all afraid of interfering with him; but as it is proved that he fed and sheltered the band of rebels that has lately committed such outrages in these dominions, it was considered advisable to secure him; which was accordingly done, without any show of resistance on his part. He will be sent to Hyderabad with his son, and, it is to be hoped, will be transported. His fort was dismantled ere we left. Buswuntnuggur, a large and populous town with a strong fort, was next visited. The Arabs holding the place gave it up on being desired to do so; and the next day mines were dug, and the fort blown up by the artillery officers. The strong ghurree of Naguswarree was

blown up, and the place burnt on the previous day, by Lieutenant Henchy. This spot has been a perfect nest of villains for some time; and it is supposed the Arabs meant to return to it, as a store of buried powder was exploded by accident. Whilst we were at Buswuntnuggur, reports came in, through our spies, that a body of Arabs, numbering over 500, had, under the leading of their Maous, Sheik Ahmed, attacked and taken the strong mud fort of Digrus; that they had tortured some of the inhabitants, and murdered the son of the Deshmook. They also plundered several villages. The most curious part of the affair is, that the Arabs have with them a palanquin, containing some mysterious personage, who never shows himself, and who is said to be a Brahmin. We had visions of the Nana himself; but we now hear that this species of 'veiled prophet' is only a claimant to the jagheer of Nowsojee Naik (the rebel whose fort of Nowah was stormed many years ago by the Nizam's army). We tried to steal a march on the enemy, by giving out that our field force was to move in another direction, and writing to the commander of the city rabble, yclept 'Moglei Fouj,' to keep the Arabs in play while we marched to Digrus. I must inform you that this 'brave army' from the city of Hyderabad is nominally acting against the rebels, but is composed of precisely the same men as those occupying the fort. Indeed, we have some reason to believe, that a few of the Rohillas who lately fought against us, have now sought refuge in the mass of the Moglei army, which is encamped at Tamsa, two miles from Digrus. It appears that fighting is not so much the object in view as living at free quarters; as, although the 'Fouj' outnumbered the rebels as two to one, they only tried one engagement, in which, having lost one man and two horses, they considered themselves defeated, and retired with precipitation to Tamsa. They had two guns with them; but fearing a sortie from the garrison, and thinking it probable that their artillery might be an incumbrance if they should have to retire with any degree of swiftness, they very wisely left it to guard their camp. I am told that the war was carried on in the strictly Homeric style, and that the flow of 'galee' on both sides would have put Ajax to the blush, though the loss of life was infinitesimal! It may therefore be imagined what useful allies these proved.



It is understood that, instead of surrounding the ghurree, and trying to prevent information of our movements reaching the insurgents, the friendly (?) Arabs in the Moglei camp at once informed their Bhaiee-bunds in the fort of what was coming, and advised them to seek a healthier locality. Acting on this hint, the Arabs, with their *soi-disant* rajah in tow, left Digrus at the very moment we were marching from Buswunth, fifty miles off, and made the best of their way, in the face of the 'Moglei invincibles,' to the dense jungles of Neermul. Our force marched thirty miles; and then, trusting that the brigadier's plans had been carried out by our 'allies,' marched on to Digrus; but, on reaching Tamsa, were informed of the flight of the rebels two days before. It is so unusual for real Vilaytee-Arabs to fly in this way, without firing a shot, that I look upon this as affording another proof of the severity of the lesson taught them at Chichumba, and as a material guarantee for the quietude of the districts we have traversed. For some time past, it appears, the ghurree of Digrus was very defensible; but it is pretty sure that had the Arabs waited for us, they would have been totally destroyed, the ground being favourable for cavalry. The ghurree is now being blown up; and with this, I conclude, closes our campaign, as there is not a rebel now between this and Jaulna, and hardly one fort. The garrison of Digrus are reported as having betaken themselves to the jungle fastnesses of Neermul and Apparowpet, where no force can follow them, and where they themselves must at once break up and disperse, as the necessities of life are wanting. Whenever these bands wish to avoid us, they can always do so, as they have the fears and sympathies of the villagers with them. Moreover, they pay for intelligence, while we don't; and they thus obtain for both love and money, what we can't get for the one, and are not allowed to purchase for the other—viz., information."

From the above narrative, it seemed probable that the Rohilla war was at an end, and that Sir Hugh Rose had really nothing more to do but to recall his troops, and distribute them into quarters, as Lord Clyde had already done in Oude.

It was doubtless mortifying to the veteran, when the truth was forced upon him, that his great preparations had been thrown away upon an imaginary difficulty; that his

troops had been unnecessarily harassed by marches, under a burning sun, to meet an enemy long previously defeated and dispersed, and to capture forts already blown up. Such, however, was the actual result of his dependence upon the incorrect intelligence of the civil authority with his camp.

The Rohillas, in all probability, after their hopeless disasters, would be inclined to confine their depredations to the Nizam's territory, as they have long systematically disregarded his authority. It was probably with a view to this contingency, and to strengthen the position of that prince amongst his turbulent neighbours, that Colonel Davidson, the resident at Hyderabad, was summoned, in the early part of 1859, to attend the council of the viceroy at Calcutta.

According to the official reports of the Nepaulese authorities to their government, at the end of January, the fugitive Oude force was in great strength at several points of the frontier, and in disagreeable proximity to a great magazine at Pewthana. The sepoys and soldiers, it was represented, paid for such grain and animals, goats and sheep, as they required; but their camp-followers, like the profession in general, were a disorderly rabble, whose depredations no severity could check; and, consequently, much ill-feeling had been created among the villagers and their visitors. A strong desire was manifested by the rebel chiefs to advance beyond the frontier, for better security; but, fortunately, the fortress of Doonia Gurree commanded the inner passes of the mountain range; and the troops there stationed received peremptory orders not to allow the begum, or her followers of any rank, to enter them, or upon any pretence to pass into the country, without express permission from Jung Bahadoor.

The position of the begum of Oude and her chief adherents, must have been, at this time, far from satisfactory to them, or encouraging to the troops that still rallied under her standard. After a proclamation had been issued by Jung Bahadoor, by which the fugitive army of Oude was first ordered to quit the country, application was made by that chief for the aid of a British force to expel them; and, as we have seen, Brigadier Horsford, with a column, was ordered to cross the Raptée for the purpose. At the same time, however, Jung Bahadoor is reported to have written to the begum, offering her an

asylum in his kingdom, with her son, and some few of her immediate personal attendants; but desiring her to dismiss her troops, which should be quartered in places appointed by him, pending the efforts he offered to make to obtain pardon for them from the British government. The begum unfortunately declined to accede to the propositions of the maharajah, being advised by her interested councillors, that if she allowed the troops to be separated from her, she would immediately be delivered up by the Nepaul durbar to the British government. Upon receiving her majesty's reply, Jung Bahadoor ordered the inhabitants of the villages near which the troops of the begum had located themselves, to quit their habitations for a time, that no encouragement might be given to the unwelcome intruders; and the chiefs were informed that British troops had been invited to march in the direction of their place of refuge, with the sanction of the Nepaulese government, for the purpose of attacking them, so that their destruction was inevitable, unless they could previously get out of the way. The difficulty of the position in which the rebel force was thus placed, had the effect for a time of rendering the whole desperate; and it was declared by several of the chiefs, that if the begum should submit to the British government, *they* would not cease fighting. On the other hand, the rane of Toolseypore dispatched her mother to the seat of government to obtain pardon for her; and Ashan Khan, Bahadoor Ali, and Rhasuf Ali Chowdree (who, with 5,000 men and fifteen guns, were encamped a few miles north of Sukalah Ghaut), notified their readiness to present themselves to the British authorities, and lay down their arms, provided they could receive assurance of pardon.

During the correspondence between Jung Bahadoor and the rebels, a Nepaulese officer, dispatched to the camp of the fugitives, had several interviews with the begum; at which her son Birjies Kuddr, Nana Sahib, and Bala Rao were present. This officer, named Buddri Sing, described the followers of the party as numbering at least 60,000 men; of whom, however, 12,000 only were infantry and 5,000 cavalry, the rest being camp-followers and unarmed dependents. He stated also, that the chiefs with this formidable gathering proposed to advance to Khatmandoo, and there seek an interview with Jung Bahadoor; and that it

was with difficulty they were prevailed upon to desist from the project, by a plea of waiting for definite instructions from the Nepaulese court with regard to their reception. The correspondence of Buddri Sing is minutely descriptive of the circumstances attending his visit to the fugitive court of the begum. He tells the Jung how long he was kept waiting for an audience of the former; that the troops were drawn out to receive him; that he had an interview with Bala Rao; then with the Nana; then with Mummoo Khan; next with Birjies Kuddr, who "was dressed in royal robes, and sat on a silver throne;" and, finally, with the begum, who said she was hastening to throw herself at Jung Bahadoor's feet. The time occupied in each of these interviews was limited to three minutes, and the interval between each was about the same. The officer further reported, that the whole party were in distress for want of provisions, as the country around them did not yield enough for their support, although they were ready to pay liberally for supplies; and that they had already lost much cattle and many of their horses by starvation. The sepoys had only the ammunition in their pouches; and all were in a state of despondency, declaring that they were but dead men if the Nepaulese government did not afford them shelter; but if the Ghoorka state had not turned against them, they would have driven the English from the country. Through this officer the following correspondence was transmitted to Khatmandoo from the rebel camp. The first is a translation of a letter from Nana Sahib to Jung Bahadoor, dated "28th Jumadee Aosanee, year 1275 Hijrae" (corresponding with the 2nd of February, 1859); and, after the usual Oriental compliments, it proceeds thus:—

"Blessings to the Maharajah!—Your letter, dated 8th Magh Zumbut, 1915 (26th January, 1859), to the address of the begum of Lucknow, inviting her, with all the rajahs, talookdars, and army in her train, to come to Chitoun, came to hand, and the contents have been read. I have heard of your magnanimity from every one, high and low; but now I am sure of it. Although your seven brothers possess great qualities, yet you are as the sun in the midst of a cluster of seven stars. Indeed, I have heard of chiefs of Hindostan of past ages, and seen those of the present, but I find you without a rival; for you have not



refused to give your aid even to the British, who are opposed to you in everything. But that you did at their request, for your own renown. This generosity makes me hope confidently, that when I arrive with the other chiefs at Chitoun, you will, in consideration of the relations that for many years existed between me and your government, not fail to give us your aid. As the poet says, you who are kind to your enemies cannot make your friends hopeless. I have no hope from any one in the world but from you. Do what you think best for me. With those hopes I have determined to go, that I may seek the object I desire. The violation of promises and breach of treaties on the part of the British government towards the chiefs of Hindostan, are so well known, that any enumeration of their acts would be superfluous. Moreover, the British have attempted to destroy the faith and religion of the people of India, which attempt has caused this great outbreak and mutiny. Before my departure, I sent by my brother, Sri Munth Maharajah Gunga Dhur Rao Bala Saheb-Peishwa Bahadoor, a friendly letter, in order to obtain your summons, and he will enter into particulars when you meet him."

This epistle was not signed by the Nana, but it was sealed with the signet-ring of the ex-Peishwa of the Mahrattas, which the Nana had for some time worn and used as a symbol of his rank. With the letter of Nana Sahib, was one also addressed to Jung Bahadoor, from Birjies Kuddr, who styled himself king of Oude. The latter epistle bore a date corresponding with our 1st of February; and, after compliments, said—

"Your letter of January 26th, with pleasant contents, and also desiring me (Sirkar), with my army, rajahs, talookdars, &c., to come to Chitoun, has been duly received and perused. I have seen, with my own eyes, the generosity and bravery for which you are renowned throughout the world. An ambassador of the British asked your aid, and you did not refuse him; therefore, I am fully confident that your magnanimity and bravery (qualities for which you are famous), the treaties which existed between my forefathers and your government, and the regard due to good faith and religion, will not permit you to fail in giving us assistance when I, with the rajahs, talookdars, chiefs, and my army, reach you. I have determined, therefore, to start immediately; and, at our personal

interview, I will give you answers to the questions contained in your letter. You know the violation of promises of which the British have been guilty with my forefathers; for the latter left nothing undone to cause the treaties with the British to be binding. I will explain to you, at our personal interview, how the British have attempted to interfere with the faith and religion of the people and of the soldiery."

On the 9th of February, the troops under Brigadier Horsford forded the Raptee, in front of their own camp, and having marched twelve miles into the Nepaul territory, divided themselves—1,200 men recrossing the river and ascending the right bank, so as to get into the right rear of the enemy's position, which was completely commanded by some high rough ground. This being taken advantage of, the men were sheltered from a very heavy artillery fire. The country is described as having been very difficult; but for that reason, also, singularly favourable to the advancing column, which consisted entirely of men of the rifle brigade, the Punjab rifles, and Ghoorkas. The main column had meanwhile marched four or five miles up the left bank of the Raptee, and, crossing a low range of hills covered with magnificent timber, again descended to the Raptee, at a point where the Sitka Ghaut was commanded by the rebel guns. As the front line came in view, the enemy opened fire, but with little spirit; and presently, finding their right covered, at a short range, by riflemen, and their front attacked also, they fled from their guns, as the first of them was taken by a rush from the right. The scene at this moment is described by a soldier as "most beautiful." "The river, upwards of 200 yards broad, deep and swift, though fordable, was dotted with men crossing in haste, to be in time—those who came from the right running into the position, and the guns still smoking; great trees grew quite to the verge of the river, on both sides—the grand Himalayas appearing to overtop everything;—all made an impression upon one unused to such sights, that cannot soon be obliterated. The enemy's guns were, in some places, in little batteries; and here and there trenches had been formed just above the right bank of the river. But small loss was suffered by the enemy as regards numbers, for the cavalry could not act in such a country. The moment the troops rushed in to take

the guns, the enemy fled out of sight, and were lost in the jungle; and scarcely a man on our side was hit. The rocks mostly received the shot; but some men were struck by splinters from the stone: fifteen guns were taken, and with them some royal drums, carriages, and much ammunition. The rebels, who were said to be from 1,500 to 1,700 in number a short time previously, fled into the inner valleys. The Nana, begum, and other rebels of note, are understood to be about thirty-five miles further inland; and to reach them, difficulties of an unusual nature to European troops, will have to be surmounted. Whether we shall penetrate further into this country is not known at present; but we are about 4,000 strong, and able to overcome anything."

The following details, from other correspondence relative to this affair, are interesting. A letter from the banks of the Raptée, dated February 23rd, says—"We have only just returned from Nepaul; the expedition was very successful, and we captured sixteen guns, without any casualties at all on our side. This was the more to be wondered at, as the rebels had posted themselves in a strong position in jungle on the banks of the river, and fired upwards of twenty rounds of canister and round shot at our men as they advanced over the broken and stony ground. Several of the rebels were killed, and hackeries and various odds-and-ends were taken. We remained in Nepaul a week, and, on our return to the old ground near the Sudherrea Ghaut, found our position occupied by the 1st Beugal fusiliers. The 7th hussars left us this morning *en route* to Umballah; and the parting between that gallant regiment and the 2nd battalion rifle brigade, was quite touching, the band playing them out of camp for a mile, and our men following and bidding farewell to their old friends. When they reached the nullah, they formed up, and cheered as only Englishmen can. This was responded to by the 7th in the most enthusiastic manner: and so they parted, never having been separated a day since March, 1858."

Another writer observes—"Colonel Hill conducted his flank movement in a most efficient manner; but it must not be forgotten that the march of his party was one of the most fatiguing perhaps experienced during the mutiny. The total distance could not have been less than thirty-four

miles; and within that distance scarcely a greater number of obstacles could be met with in the shape of streams, sands, marshes, hills, and jungles. The streams crossed comprised the Raptée and its tributaries. Thrice during the march the Raptée itself was forded—a dangerous service, owing to the rapidity of its current. However, it was accomplished, the enemy driven from their guns, and fifteen or sixteen of the latter captured before sundown—not a bad day's work."

To prevent any successful attempt by the rebels to return into Onde, a column under the command of Colonel Kelly, consisting of H.M.'s 34th regiment, a wing of the 16th, the 3rd Sikhs, and the Jat horse from Fyzabad, with a battery of royal artillery, was concentrated at the foot of the hills on the Gunduk, from whence it shortly afterwards moved forward to block the passes; while Brigadier Horsford marched on Bareitch, and thence to Toolseypore.

The Mhow field force under General Michel, on the route for Neemuch, had a favourable opportunity afforded it of disposing of the rebel band under Feroze Shah and the Rao Sahib; but, by some misadventure, it was allowed to slip from their grasp. After separating from his companion chiefs, Tania Topee was for some time lost to sight, and was next heard of in a south-east direction, while passing between Tonk and Jey-pore. He then struck off for the Sadow jungles, and joined his force to that of Maun Sing at Narwar, in Scindia's territory, whence it was supposed he would make for Jaloun. The Rao Sahib and Abdil Mohammed of Bhopal, crossed from Awah, about the middle of February, into Mewah, by the Amail Ghaut, having eluded the vigilance of Brigadier Somerset (who was posted to guard the pass) by moving through it in the night. After a slight affair near Soojat, the rebel force continued its march in the direction of Neemuch; and being checked by Captain Haycock's column at Burra Sadir, the rebels made for Jheerum; but finding that locality one of imminent peril for them, the vakeel of the Rao was dispatched to the camp of General Michel with an offer of submission, provided the terms proposed by him could be accepted. While the general was amused by the pretended negotiations of the vakeel, the several columns under Brigadiers Parke, Smith,



Somerset, and Becher, in conjunction with his own, had gathered round the rebels almost in a circle, which only required to be contracted to crush them to a man. They were on an open common, prostrated with fatigue, and quite four days' march from any jungle. For them to fight in such a situation was to be destroyed *en masse*; while to flee was to be cut to pieces in detail. In this extremity, it occurred to the wily chiefs to try the effect of stratagem; and the vakeel was sent as stated, with instructions to negotiate for their surrender, stipulating for a truce of four days previous to the chiefs coming in. The general, who did not suspect the scheme veiled by the proposition, at once acquiesced in the request, halted all his columns, and patiently waited the return of the emissary with the penitent rebels; who, however, having no intention to gratify him by their appearance in his camp, had availed themselves of the interval allowed them to retire across the Trunk road into the Muxoodeenghur jungle, leaving some 250 of their number behind them to mask their movements. As soon as Michel found out the trick by which he had been duped, he started in pursuit of the fugitives; but again his ill-fortune intervened, and he took a wrong direction, which after a short march he abandoned, and returned without laurels to his cantonment at Mhow.

To compensate in some degree for this disappointment, 200 rebels surrendered with their arms to Brigadier Somerset at Boda, in the Neemuch district, on the 1st of March; while two chiefs of some note (the nawabs of Jowla and Kanconia) also surrendered themselves and their adherents under the royal proclamation. After separating from the rebels under Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah contrived for some time to remain in concealment, his followers being reduced to a comparatively insignificant number. Although not so generally successful in his movements as either Tantia Topee or the Rao Sahib, the Shahzadah was equally enterprising, and had a fair claim to share with them whatever of military renown their persevering hostility to the British troops might entitle them to. This prince was a great-grandson of Shah Alum; his mother, Abadee Begum, being a daughter of Mirza Munjoo, a cousin of Akber Shah, who was the immediate predecessor of the last king of Delhi. He had thus the *prestige* of royal descent: and

apart from the odium he shared as a participator in the rebellion, his character was exceptionally good, when compared with that of his relatives the defunct princes of Delhi, whose profligacy and debaucheries appeared to have no charms for one of his more studious disposition.

The following telegrams notify the increasing disposition of the rebellious chiefs, and their adherents, to throw themselves upon the clemency of the government:—

*"Service Message from Indore (28th February, 10.30 p.m.) to Bombay. From Sir R. Hamilton to Lord Elphinstone.—Three hundred rebel cavalry, under Peerzoo Ali, principal officer to Feroze Shah, surrendered on the 27th, at Sunjail, and more are said to be coming in."*

*"From Indore, 3rd March. Sir R. Hamilton to Lord Elphinstone, Bombay.—Peer Zaor Ali and his party of rebels surrendered to General Michel, and laid down their arms on the 1st of March. General Michel afterwards marched to Sonail."*

Of the last-mentioned band, it was stated in a letter from Augur, dated March the 7th, that they were merely deprived of their weapons, and sent to their respective homes, without even being required to relinquish the plunder with which almost every man of the 200 was laden; the object of so much consideration being, probably, to inspire confidence in the leniency of the government.

A letter from Saugor, of the 5th of March, referred to the movements of Tantia Topee as follows:—"This troublesome and slippery chief was at Seronge yesterday, coming down to Rahulgurh. He cut up, on his way, about 200 of the Bhopal troops, by pretending that he had been sent by the British to assist them against Tantia Topee, who was at hand; and, when among them, cutting them up right and left before they could help themselves. Brigadier Wheeler went out against him last night, and will doubtless, if in time, give a good account of the rebel, who, after his successful stratagem, went off with his party towards Perone."

About the middle of the month, some intimation of the existence of the fugitive chiefs—Tantia Topee, Feroze Shah, and the Rao—was comprised in the following brief reference to their supposed movements:—"The three principal leaders of the rebellious bands have, within the last few days, lost most of their followers. Tantia Topee,

who has recently taken to a disguise, and assumed the name of Ram Sing, has completely disappeared; but it is suspected that he was lately near Jhansie, under the name of Jeel Jung. Feroze Shah has also disappeared, and is probably hiding under an assumed name. The Rao, accompanied by Adil Mohammed, a sirdar of Bhopaul, appeared near Beora, after having defeated some new levies of the maharajah of Gwalior at Bhilsa, and taken four guns from them; but, in the flight from Bhilsa to Seronge and Beora, the guns had to be abandoned. From the close pursuit by Colonel Rich's and other columns, there was little chance that the annoyance from this source would be of long duration."

In the Banda district, the yet flickering embers of revolt suddenly burst into a devouring flame, which was destructive alike of life and property in a quarter least expected to be exposed to the visitation. A party of railway *employés* connected with the Allahabad and Jubbulpore line, consisting of a Mr. Evans, chief engineer, and Messrs. Linnell and Campbell, his assistants, were engaged in the survey of the district around the village of Etawah, some ninety miles from Allahabad. These persons had with them a party of workmen and native servants, and they had also an escort of twenty mounted Sikhs, for their protection. From some unexplained cause, Messrs. Evans and Linnell distrusted the fidelity of the Sikhs, and did not take any trouble to conceal the fact. Shortly after their arrival at the village, a zemindar of the neighbourhood informed them, that a large body of insurgents, led by Hushmut Sing, sirdar of Rewah, was approaching the camp with hostile intentions. The information was treated as unimportant; and the friendly zemindar was informed by Mr. Evans, that his guard of twenty men could protect him. According to the account of a native who formed one of the unfortunate party, the most of them were asleep in their tents, except the guard, who were cooking their food, when, about 2 P.M. of the 26th of February, the rebels surrounded the camp. Mr. Evans then inquired of the officer in charge of the detachment, if his men would save them; and his characteristic reply was, "They would fight for the camp, but the sahibs must save themselves." Upon this, Evans and his two assistants got upon their horses to escape, when a sowar transfixed Evans with his spear, and the horse stum-

bling, fell with his rider into a ditch. The sowar then dismounted, and despite the entreaties of Mr. Evans that he would spare his life, the murderer struck off his head. Mr. Linnell was meanwhile thrown from his horse, wounded, and made prisoner by the rebels, who compelled him to accompany them on foot, carrying the head of his murdered chief in his hands, until he, also, was relieved from his misery by death. The remainder of the party contrived to hide themselves in the jungle; and ultimately, Mr. Campbell, with the Sikh guard, found their way into Allahabad, from whence a detachment of the 97th regiment was sent in pursuit of the rebels and their prisoner. The following extract, from a letter of an individual connected with the survey in which Messrs. Evans and Linnell were engaged, affords some further details of the occurrence:—"Doubtless you will have received the terrible news of our narrow escape from the rebels, and the death of poor Linnell and the chief engineer (William Evans) of the Jubbulpore line. As you will find by my letters from Allahabad, we were all ready to start on our surveying expedition on the new line for at least a month, and were only waiting for the civil servants to let us know when the country was quiet. We received intelligence to that effect, and started. We got up to the top of the ghaut, or mountain pass, and came back to the foot of the range of hills that lie about 120 miles from Allahabad. We left two engineers on our way from Allahabad, and proceeded up to the place where Mr. Evans's, Linnell's, and Colliu W. Campbell's tents were attacked. The name of the place is Erutowah, a small village about ninety miles from this; and it was our two tents—viz., Strong's, the engineer, whom I was with, and mine, which they came to attack; but we had fortunately left that place two days before, and were both levelling through a very thick jungle. Evans, Linnell, and Campbell, afterwards came and encamped in the very same place; and at about half-past two on Saturday afternoon, February 26th, 1,000 men came down with elephants and camels with swivel guns on their backs, and began firing into the camp in all directions. Poor Linnell and Evans were both thrown from their horses, and the latter's head was cut off, and Linnell taken prisoner. They made him march to the place where I had passed a day with him, and the last place I saw him in, and there put him to death. I believe



he was made to carry poor Evans's head all the way. We received news of the affair when encamped about five miles from the rebels, and were obliged to jump on our horses and scamper off to Thirowan, and thence by forced marches into Allahabad. Yesterday and the day before we rode seventy-five miles in the broiling sun, but, thank God! are all safe. Campbell is also safe here; he owes his life to the swiftness of his horse. Twelve engineers have gone out surveying that line; five were killed in the Cawnpore massacre, and this time we have lost two out of seven. We shall not be ordered out there for some time, as there are 7,000 or 8,000 men in the hills. Everything was burnt and destroyed, and all I have of poor Linnell is a scarf. Four of the servants were killed. The mail is just going out, and we are all so tired that we can only write short notes; otherwise we are all right. Poor Evans has left a wife and three children. She is in a terrible state of mind, but does not know how horribly they were put to death. Linnell's body is not yet found."

In the Deccan, a murderous attempt upon the life of Sala Jung, the chief minister of the Nizam at Hyderabad, occasioned some alarm in March, and led to a vigorous investigation, the result of which showed, contrary to the first impression, that the outrage arose from causes wholly disconnected with the general revolt. The attempt was made on occasion of a visit by the British resident, Colonel Davidson, to the Nizam, for the purpose of presenting a khapeeta (despatch) from the governor-general. Colonel Davidson had fulfilled his mission; and on leaving the durbar, was accompanied from the presence by the dewan, Sala Jung, followed by Captain Thornhill and Lieutenant Fraser. The party had scarcely reached the courtyard of the palace, where the attendants were waiting, when a mounted sowar of the Nizam's guard deliberately raised his carbine, and took aim at the minister. The charge miscarried; and the assassin immediately drew his sword, and attempted to cut down his intended victim; and in all probability would have succeeded in doing so, owing to the suddenness of the attack, but for the prompt interference of one of the attendants of Sala Jung, who rushed between his master and the sowar, and received the blow aimed at the former upon his open hand, which was severed in two. The

momentary interruption gave opportunity to draw a score of swords from their scabbards, and the assassin was cut down, falling from his horse a terribly mangled corpse. Intelligence of the attempt spread like wild-fire through the city; and, conceiving it to be the signal for a general outbreak, numbers of the inhabitants, as well as Europeans attached to the English mission, fled with all speed to Secunderabad, carrying with them the rumour that the resident himself had been either slain or wounded.

An investigation was immediately set on foot, to trace the motive for the outrage; and the fact was elicited that the sowar was a retainer of the family of the Ameer Kabeer Shumseer Oomrad, between whom and Sala Jung a feud had long subsisted, and that his object was merely to avenge some offence offered to his patron by the dewan. The sons of the Ameer, upon learning what had taken place, hastened to the residency, to disavow any complicity in the outrage perpetrated by their servant; but their asseverations of entire ignorance of the man's intent, and of regret for his conduct, were coldly listened to by Colonel Davidson, who declared to them his determination to have the instigators of the attempt discovered, and that all found implicated should be severely punished. The minister fortunately escaped without personal injury; but the affair had ultimately the effect of banishing his enemies, including the Ameer himself, from the court of the Nizam.

The uneasiness occasioned by this violent act did not subside without an attempt to convert the opportunity afforded by it into a political crisis; and rumours were set afloat that, by the intervention of the English, the Nizam's troops were to be disbanded, and the people disarmed. The report spread quickly and widely; and on the 12th of March, the Arab mercenaries of the contingent assembled in an excited and tumultuous manner at the house of their principal jemadar, alleging they had heard the British troops had arrived at the residency, and had already entered the minister's Barrah Durree, which was within the city walls, and near one of the principal gates. The jemadar, influenced by the statement, at once took measures for resistance, and stationed pickets round the Arab quarters; but, fortunately, the falsehood of the report was soon established; and beyond the alarm, no evil resulted from the occurrence.

A few months only had elapsed since the proclamation of the Queen was made public throughout India; but the result of its conciliatory and indulgent declarations was by no means so satisfactory and tranquillising as had been hoped would have been the case; and thus reference to the supreme government became frequently necessary from the distant provinces and minor presidencies, for the purpose of ascertaining, from the highest authority, the correct interpretation of passages in that important document. For instance, the declaration respecting the inviolability of Indian rights, was in many cases ignorantly, or perhaps intentionally, misunderstood by the natives; and especially so were the clauses in which her majesty declared, that "none shall be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances;" and that, "generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard shall be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India." These clauses, which bear an obvious and unmistakable meaning in the original language of the proclamation, were, by the process of incorrect interpretation into the various languages of the races of India, sought to be rendered subservient to the purpose of carrying out native religious prejudices to a very great extent, and were held to justify the maintenance of many absurd concessions to native intolerance, and the most aggressive customs, by virtue of which one class of society justified a violent interference with the rights of another, or of the public in general. At Tinnevely (the principal town of Travancore, a district in the Madras presidency), the inhabitants of which are chiefly Hindoos preserving the Hindoo customs with extraordinary strictness, the Brahmins considered themselves justified, by their reading of the proclamation, in offering positive resistance to the law; and, among other claims of privilege, insisted upon the maintenance of regulations which, in effect, closed the Queen's highway against all processions connected with low-caste funerals. At Tinnevely, it seems, a custom was in existence which prevented the passage of low-caste funerals before pagodas; and in a district of the town where caste riots were of frequent occurrence, the authorities sought to evade the difficulty by ordering that a street should be made by which low-caste funerals and processions might pass

without offence to the more sacred communities of Hindoo worshippers. Before this expedient was resorted to, it was no uncommon sight to see two rival castes carrying their idols in procession, meeting at the intersection of two lanes, and, forgetting the sacred character of their gods in the ardour of their fanaticism, dropping their misshapen images into the gutter, to exhaust their rage and hatred of each other in blows and curses. At Cuddalore and other towns, scenes of such a character were frequently repeated; but the authorities, from a disinclination to interfere in religious quarrels with which they had no concern, hesitated to repress the cause of them, which they could have done by declaring peremptorily, that the public highway was open to the use of all classes of the community. This neglect of duty, and weak indulgence by the civil magistrate, served to strengthen the high-caste fanatics in the belief that their outrageous claims were based upon a right it was perfectly legal for them to seek to uphold, the words of the Queen's proclamation being construed into a formal acknowledgment of the privileges of caste.

It happened at Tinnevely, as in many other towns of British India, that there were two leading religious parties—the Brahmins and their followers, and the Christian missionaries and their converts—between whom at all times a strong feeling of jealous rivalry existed. On the 22nd of December, a Hindoo of low-caste, who had become a Christian neophyte, died in the civil hospital of Tinnevely. In conveying his remains to the place of interment, the Christian friends of the deceased, against the established practice of the Hindoos, insisted upon carrying the corpse through the street fronting the Tinnevely pagoda. To this the Brahmins and their party objected; a disturbance arose, and a great number of people assembled. The tehseeldar being unable to disperse the crowd, applied to the acting magistrate for assistance, which was speedily obtained in the shape of three companies of sepoys from the 2nd extra regiment stationed at Palamcottah, about three miles and a-half distant; and with these the chief magistrate, accompanied by his head assistant and several military officers, marched into Tinnevely. The novelty of their appearance added much to the excitement of the people, and a vast crowd followed the magistrate and his party.



One company of the sepoys was posted at the front gate of the temple, and the other two companies marched to the place where the funeral party was assembled; and under this escort the convert's body, in a coffin covered with a pall, was moved towards its last resting-place. Notwithstanding the tehseeldar pointed out that there were three other streets through which the procession could pass, and that he distinctly stated his apprehensions that nothing could prevent a breach of the peace if the party took the street facing the pagoda, the Christians refused to listen to his remonstrances, and insisted upon going by the way they had chosen. For a while all went on quietly; but on the procession coming up near the pagoda—on forbidden ground, according to the Brahmins, whereby they considered that their religious prejudices and feelings were outraged, and their caste superiority insulted and infringed under the sanction of civil and military authority, which they hoped would have been exercised in their favour—a shower of stones came pouring down from the crowd, and from persons concealed in the houses of the Brahmins and in the gobarums or pinnacles of the pagoda. The military were then unfortunately ordered to use force to put down this violent con-

duct; and they fired among the crowd, striking down about thirty-nine men, women, and children, and wounding a great many more. Thus a loss of valuable lives, and a great effusion of blood, was sustained merely because a Brahminical crowd thought fit to consider their caste privileges in danger, and fancied, by their interpretation of the Queen's proclamation, that her majesty would protect them in their hostility to Christianity and Christian converts, and also that the military were bound to protect them in the full enjoyment of their exclusive privileges. The occurrence at first produced a degree of alarm throughout the district, and, for a time, had a repressive influence upon the spread of Christianity, as well as upon the good feeling of the inhabitants generally.

A similar misconstruction of the language of the proclamation gave rise to a formidable riot at the town of Nagarcoil, in the Travancore district, in the course of which many lives were lost, and a vast amount of property belonging to the European residents and the native Christian population, was sacrificed before order could be restored.

The population of Travancore is composed mainly of two classes—the Sudras (Nairs\*) and the Shanars. The former

\* The following account of the Sudras, or Nairs, appears to be in perfect accordance with ancient testimony respecting them:—"One of the most singular people of India are the Nairs, who occupy the southern parts of Malabar. They are the pure Sudras of that coast, and all profess to be born soldiers, though all do not follow the profession of arms. They are of various classes and avocations. The highest are on some occasions cooks, which is always an honourable employment, as an individual may eat food prepared by a person of higher rank than himself, but must not partake of any that is cooked by an inferior. In earlier ages, before these countries were invaded by foreigners, the submission of the Nairs to their superiors was very implicit, and they exacted the same from their inferiors, with a promptitude and severity never practised but among the Hindoos. They always went armed, and a Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar (cultivator) or a Mucua (fisherman) who touched him; while some of the inferior castes, if about to meet a Nair, were obliged to turn out of the way to let him pass, lest they should pollute him by their approach. But the greatest singularity manifested by this caste, is relative to marriage, and the treatment of their females, which is the reverse of all other people in India. They marry very young, generally before they are ten years old, but the husband is not expected to live with his wife. It would even be considered scandalous to do so. She remains in her mother's house, or, after her death, with her brothers. Her husband allows her oil, food, clothing, and

ornaments, but she is at perfect liberty to entertain as many lovers as she pleases, provided they are of an equal or higher rank than herself. Should she choose a person of lower rank, she not only forfeits all supplies from her husband, but is considered as a disgrace to herself and connections, and is expelled from the caste. Females are not put to death for capital offences, or even mutilated as in other parts, but only banished from the country." In consequence of the extraordinary arrangements respecting the women, no Nair can be supposed to know his father. Every man considers his sister's children to be his heirs. His mother manages the family, and after her death, the eldest sister assumes the direction. A Nair's movable property, on his decease, is equally divided amongst the sons and daughters of all his sisters. From a very remote period, Malabar was governed by the descendants of thirteen Nair chiefs' sisters; amongst whom, and the different branches of the same families, there existed a constant confusion and change of property, which were greatly increased by the assumption of sovereign power by many inferior chiefs. The country thus became subdivided in a manner of which there is no other example; and it was a common saying in Malabar, that a man could not take a step without going from one chief's territory into that of another. Taking advantage of these dissensions, Hyder Ali subdued the northern division of the country, which is now known as the province of Malabar; while the rajah of Travancore, and the Cochin rajah, conquered all the chiefs of the

are the chief landowners, and monopolise nearly all offices under the Sirkar, to none of which is a Shanar, however intelligent, ever admitted. As a body, although there may be a few praiseworthy exceptions, the Sudras are proud, oppressive, corrupt, and cowardly; ignorant in the extreme; scarcely ever leaving their own district, and treating the lower castes with great insolence and tyranny. On the other hand, the Shanars have been for years increasing in intelligence, wealth, and general respectability. Many have availed themselves of the education offered them; and many also have put themselves under regular Christian instruction.

In former times, when caste prejudices were in their full vigour in Travancore, the man or woman who had the misfortune to be of an inferior order in regard of birth, was scarcely recognised, by the proud and exclusive Nairs, as forming part of the human species; and to such a height did their arrogance extend, as to declare it a serious offence for females of the Shanar caste to appear in public with any covering above the waist, having the whole of the upper part of the body perfectly nude, as a mark of their inferiority. The practice had, however, under the moralising influence of Christianity, gradually fallen into disuse; and the Shanar people awakening to a sense of the decencies of life, and especially such of them as came under the spiritual direction of the English missionaries, were led to assume an attire consistent with feminine delicacy. This improved state of things continued for some time, and gradually extended to females who were not members of the Christian church, but yet had the modesty of their sex. At length some of the higher class of native society began to look with jealousy

*central and southern divisions.* Notwithstanding the accession of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, the great mass of the population of Malabar are still Hindoos. And, as already remarked, the distinctions of caste amongst them are kept up with the utmost strictness. The distances—so many steps or paces—within which an individual of an inferior may not approach one of a superior caste, are defined with the most scrupulous nicety. The distinctive names of the castes are:—1. Namboories, or Brahmans; 2. Nairs, or Sudras; 3. Tiars, who are free cultivators of the land; 4. Malears, who are musicians and conjurors, or jugglers, and also free men; 5. Poliards, or Shanars—slaves, mostly attached to the soil, and considered as below all caste. And there is an out-cast tribe, inferior even to these, called Niadis, who are considered so very impure, that even a slave of caste will not touch them. “They generally

upon the change, which they deemed an insolent invasion of their exclusive privileges; and the proclamation of the Queen being construed as restoring to them the full possession of all caste privileges, they at once fell back upon the restrictions with regard to dress above alluded to, and insisted that the Shanar women should revert to their original semi-nakedness, as the degrading distinction of their caste. The dewan of Travancore adopted the views of the Nairs generally in this respect, and issued an order for reviving the obsolete practice, and compelling Christian wives and mothers, as well as others, to expose their persons to the gaze of the public. This outrage to decency was no longer unheeded by the women in question, the Christian portion of whom appealed to the missionaries, who very properly encouraged them to disobey the order, and refused to allow their congregation to submit to an observance so repugnant to delicacy. The result of this opposition to the authority of the dewan and the rigid prejudices of caste, was a terrible riot, in the course of which the resident’s bungalow and the protestant church were burnt down, and the houses of the missionaries (Messrs. Russell and Baylis) were materially injured. All the persons connected with the mission fled for safety to Travandrum, the chief town of the district (about fifty miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin), and threw themselves upon the protection of General Cullen, the British resident at Travancore. From this officer they received but small consolation; as, in reply to the complaints of the Shanars, that their women had been beaten, and the clothes torn from them, the general told them, “that as their Christian women had violated the Shanar custom of exposing the upper part of their bodies, and had so far

wander about in companies of ten or twelve, keeping a little distance from roads; and when they see any passenger, they set up a howl like dogs that are hungry. They who are moved by compassion, lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away; the Niadis afterwards approach, and take up what has been left. They have no marriage ceremony; but one man and one woman always associate together. They are said to kill tortoises, and sometimes alligators, both of which they eat, and consider excellent food.” There are several divisions of the first three castes. The Poliards are bought and sold like cattle, either with or separate from the land, one of them being generally considered equal in value to two buffaloes. They are of a miserable appearance, squalid and diminutive, and are often treated with much severity—a natural consequence of their abject servility to their superiors.



unjustifiably adopted the Sudra costume, they had only themselves to blame, and must take the consequences." He, however, ordered a detachment of the Nair brigade to escort them back to their homes, or to the ruins of them; and the dewan, Madhava Row, also left to enforce measures for the re-establishment of order—a result which he finally accomplished.

The volcanic element that had seared and scarred some of the finest districts of India, yet smouldered beneath the surface, and seemed to require but a trifling impulse to transform it once more into a glowing mass of flame. At Rawul Pindiee (a fortified town of the Punjab, forty-seven miles E.S.E. of Attock), in which were cantonments for the British and native troops, the subahdar-major of the disarmed 58th regiment of native infantry, received a letter by dâk, purporting to be from the native officers of the 18th irregular cavalry, urging him to get his regiment to mutiny, promising the aid of the 18th, and also of the 2nd irregular cavalry, which was passing at the time through the district. The subahdar at once took the letter to the officer in command at the station, who ordered the 18th regiment to be immediately paraded; and the letter being read to them, it of course was indignantly repudiated by all. The native officers of the regiment, moreover, offered a reward of a thousand rupees for the discovery of the writer; and within two hours of the notification of this offer, a trooper of the regiment shot himself. On searching his hut, a *fac simile* of the letter was found, also the seal that had been used, and a number of letters addressed to various native officers yet in the service, instigating them to prevail upon their regiments to rise against the British. Whether the suicide had acted in this matter upon his own impulse, or was but the secret agent of other parties, remained doubtful; as, in consequence of his sudden death, no clue to the origin of the affair could be distinctly traced.

Looking back once more to Oude, where, by this time, the last embers of revolt had been nearly trodden out, through the effective measures adopted for the disarming of the people—up to the middle of January, the official returns showed a seizure of 173 cannons, 79,729 muskets, 279,930 swords, 14,365 spears, and 177,126 offensive weapons of other descriptions. To the same date, 483 forts, of various degrees of

strength and military importance, had been destroyed or utterly dismantled; and about 1,800 sepoys had surrendered upon the faith of the amnesty. Such, in short, was the favourable aspect of affairs in Oude, that the whole of the Sikh regiments which had rendered important service in the progressive tranquillisation of the country, were ordered back to the Punjab; and the Oude stationary army was diminished, as already stated, by more than one-third its effective strength. To better ensure the peace of the city, an order was issued in Lucknow, commanding every Affghan affecting to be a trader, to sell his goods within a certain time, and then to return home—the unusual swarm of Affghans who had flocked into the city upon pretence of being merchants, having excited the suspicion of the authorities.

The number of sepoys who manifested a desire to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government, upon the terms prescribed by the royal proclamation, continued to increase materially, and, towards the end of January, became uninterrupted. Most of them admitted that they had felt the hopelessness of the struggle for months previous; they knew their position was desperate; but they could not have faith in the conciliatory offers made to them for submission. Among those men, the case of many officers and old soldiers belonging to disarmed and disbanded regiments, was in some instances pitiable. They had, by their mutiny and desertion in pursuit of a shadow, hazarded all, and lost all: their pay was of course stopped; their pensions were forfeited; and they had nothing before them but starvation, or a wretched state of existence dependent upon the charity of their countrymen. Such, even after the bullet, the sword, and the hangman's cord had done their work, was the probable future of a great portion of the existing remnant of that once noble army which, in the unclouded season of its loyalty, had been worthy co-rivals in martial glory with the bravest of its European compeers.

The chiefs, also, now generally felt that there was nothing left for them but unconditional submission, although, in many breasts, there yet lingered a secret expectation that a day would arrive for the exhumation of buried guns, and the renovation of dismantled forts. Much uneasiness was also naturally felt among the chiefs—the more intense as the rank

ascended—with respect to the future intentions of the government. “They can never forgive us!” was an exclamation frequently heard even amongst those assured of pardon. They had not yet learned to understand the difference between their Christian conquerors, and the Moslem and Hindoo tyrants of their own races.

With regard to the atrocities perpetrated by the mutinous troops and budmashes of the various towns in revolt at the early stages of the insurrection, much contradictory evidence, or rather allegation (partly founded upon actual occurrences, and partly upon rumour), had occupied the attention of people in all parts of the world, as well as upon the scenes of the terrible realities. That, in the early days of tumult and revolt, the terror inspired by the sudden and unlooked-for visitation, led to much exaggeration as to the atrocity and extent of the outrages by which the innocent and the defenceless—weak women and tender children, feeble age, and helpless unoffending infancy—were offered up as the first victims to revenge and brutal lust, there is now little room to doubt; but that cruelties and enormities were perpetrated of the most terrible description, there is also ample and incontestable proof; and in the case of the massacre at Cawnpore, the more clearly the transactions connected with it are investigated, the more hateful appears to be the deliberate cruelty, cowardice, and malignity of its perpetrators. It has been shown, in the progress of this work, that massacres were perpetrated at many stations in British India. There was one at Delhi, within the king’s palace; but it was in some degree relieved by the conduct of natives, who protected Europeans, and assisted them to escape. There was a massacre at Futteghur; but it was afterwards found to have been the work of the vile population of budmashes, and of some few sepoys in a state of frenzied excitement, and wild with license, lust of blood, and plunder. From that place some Europeans were suffered to escape; and two women were received into the nawab’s palace, where they were, for a time at least, protected; while others were sheltered by Hurdeo Bux. At Shahjehanpore, also, there was a massacre; but there, again, Europeans got away; and others were equally fortunate at Barcilly. There was also a massacre at Lucknow; but it appeared not to be the work of the authorities or of the sepoys,

but of an assassin who had been favoured by the family of one of the victims. Even at Jhansie, it afterwards appeared that some degree of extenuation might be found: but for Cawnpore alone there was not a plea to be urged—that incomparable atrocity was deliberate and complete: its guilt was divided into two parts—the one characterised by superhuman treachery; the other by relentless cruelty, and by every circumstance that could intensify guilt. As the number of the murdered exceeded that of the victims in any other place, so did the greatness of the crime excel, in all its incidents, the magnitude of the offences which marked the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the subsequent revolt. There were, indeed, some survivors of the first Cawnpore massacre; but the second and the worst—that of the women and children in the house and compound—was dreadful, and, in its full accomplishment, unexampled.

And just in proportion to the magnitude of the horrors presented in that city, was the scepticism as to their reality and extent; for persons were found who, either from ignorance or design, affected to believe, in the face of reiterated proof, that the statements put before the world in reference to the Cawnpore murders, were little other than exaggerated fictions. Gradually, however, evidence living and unassailable appeared upon the scene, to testify in person as to the general accuracy of the details that had pictured the fiend-like inflictions of the Nana Sahib at Cawnpore. One of these living witnesses, a survivor from the first massacre, was the daughter of an Eurasian clerk; who, snatched from the uplifted sword of an assassin by a sowar of the Nana, was afterwards compelled to travel about with him, and, to escape persecution, became a Mohammedan; and subsequently making her escape to an English camp, was sent down to Calcutta, where the memory of her sufferings and compulsory degradation was gradually soothed to calmness, by the assiduity and sympathising kindness of strangers. Another, who escaped the savage fury of the reckless murderers of her whole family, was a girl of thirteen, named Georgiana Anderson, whose parents resided at Humerpore. All her relatives were massacred in her sight, herself receiving a desperate cut from a tulwar on the shoulder in the course of the murderous outrage. No other injury was inflicted upon the child personally; and a native



doctor took compassion upon her, and, extricating her from the dying and the dead of her house, took care of her, and afterwards sent her in safety to the English commander, by whom she was restored to some friends at Monghyr. Some further details of the actual proceedings of the Nana in Cawnpore, were also furnished at a later period by a half-caste Christian band-boy, named Joseph Fitchett, who stated to the commissioners appointed to investigate the charges of massacre and violation preferred against Nana Sahib and his ruffian adherents, that when the mutiny broke out, he was a musician in the band of one of the native infantry regiments at Cawnpore, and, in the general massacre, he saved his life by declaring that he would become a Mohammedan, which he did by an easy process almost on the spot. He remained in Cawnpore, and was enrolled in the Nana's force, with which he did duty. On the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1857, when it became known that the British were advancing from Pandoo Nuddee, a council was held by the Nana, at which it was resolved, that the women and children at the Beebeeghur, about 205 in number, should be murdered. The news went rapidly through the town, and some men of the 6th native infantry, entering the enclosure, proceeded to take from the unfortunate captives such articles of value, or trinkets, as they retained on their persons. When the Nana heard of this plunder, he was very much displeased, and sent down a body of sowars, with strict orders to surround the house, and permit no one to enter but the executioners. By the statement of this band-boy, it appeared that four English gentlemen were at the time confined with the women and children in the enclosure; namely, Mr. Thornhill, magistrate and collector of Futteghur; Colonel Smith, 10th native infantry; Brigadier Goldie, of the clothing department; and a fourth, not clearly identified, but supposed to be one of the Greenaway family. Shortly before half-past four o'clock, a message was brought to those gentlemen, that Brigadier Jeekin, a native officer of the mutineers, desired to see them; and they left the house to repair to his quarters. They walked quietly along the road, in the direc-

tion indicated to them, suspecting nothing; but when they had got as far as the assembly-rooms, they were suddenly attacked from behind, cut down, and murdered on the spot. Meantime, preparations were being made for the execution of the orders of the Nana and his council, with respect to the women and children;\* but there was some difficulty in getting instruments for the meditated horrible butchery. The sowars wished to save themselves from the defilement of blood, and the infantry were equally averse to the task; but at length, some soldiers of the 6th native infantry were sent in, and ordered to fire upon the terrified and helpless crowd before them. These men, not yet dead to human instincts, fired in the air; and were so dilatory with their work, that it became evident the purpose of the Nana would not be accomplished by their hands. Sowars were therefore dispatched into the town for some of the common butchers of the bazaar; and two Bhooreas and a Velaitee, who were armed with hatchets and tulwars, were brought, and ordered to go in and kill every one within the house and enclosure, all egress from which was prevented by the sowars outside. It was a long and dreadful sacrifice; Fitchett, who was on duty near the place, declaring that the assassins entered the enclosure about 5.30 P.M., and that it was 10 P.M. before they came out to announce that the terrible butchery was accomplished! Once during that interval of four hours and a-half, a ruffian appeared at the gate, with his sword broken in two; but on obtaining a sabre from one of the sowars, he returned to continue his infernal labour. The Nana was in the hotel close at hand during this horrible tragedy; and when informed that all were dead, he gave orders that the doors should be closed for the night, and guards put over the place. That night the Nana gave a nautch ball to his friends in Cawnpore.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the Nana gave orders that the doors should be opened, and that all the bodies inside should be flung into a well within the compound; but as it was far too small to contain so many bodies, Fitchett considered it was probable that some were dragged away to other places, or were thrown into the Ganges.

\* In the earlier accounts of this horrible transaction (see vol. i., p. 376), the massacre of the women and children took place *after* the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th; whereas, by the statement of

Fitchett, the act was perpetrated the previous evening, and while General Havelock's force was still on its triumphant march from the Pandoo Nuddee: but whatever the date, the fact of the murder remains.

So far, the testimony of one near to, and almost an eye-witness of the act of slaughter, corroborates the account first received in its material parts. Of the hellish outrages perpetrated within the walls of that terrible compound, no living tongue was spared to tell; and in the returns that have appeared in reference to the punishment of the mutinous sepoys found in the city, and of the miscreant through whom the orders of the Nana were conveyed to the butchers employed in the wholesale slaughter of 205 helpless women and children,\* there is no clue to the fact (if, indeed, it is one), that more than one of the three ferocious instruments of the Nana's malignity—i.e., the butchers and the Velaitee—were, either at the recapture of the city, or at any other time or place, identified and punished.

Upon the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th, Fitchett fled, with his new friends the sepoys, to Futteghur; and during his stay there, it would appear, by the account he has rendered, he frequently saw a lady whom he recognised as the daughter of a late superior officer at Cawnpore, but who was then under the protection of a sowar, who had fled with her from Cawnpore after the first massacre. The lad affirmed that he was repeatedly shown into the room in which the lady sat, where he was ordered to read extracts from English newspapers which the rebels received from Calcutta, he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which they took great interest, and more especially so in that which related to the war in China. He said further, that the lady had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the sowar had procured for her, and that she rode close beside him along the line of march, with her face veiled. When the British troops approached Futteghur, orders were sent to the sowar to give the lady up; but he again escaped with her, and, it was supposed, went to Calpee.

The fatigues of the campaign, and the effect of the accident before Mujidiah on the 26th of December, had seriously impaired the health of Lord Clyde, who, after his return to Lucknow, was compelled to restrain his desire for active service, and to facilitate a return to convalescence by an interval of repose.

A very perplexing difficulty arose to the government, in consequence of the view taken of the outrages at Nagarcovil by the

British resident at Travancore, who appeared to justify the Nairs of that district in their preposterous notion, that, by the royal proclamation, they were reinstated in the full enjoyment of every obsolete right or privilege in connection with their peculiar religious customs, or the exclusive usages of their caste. To encourage them, and others also of the various creeds of India, to imagine they might again revert to practices it had been the object of the government for years past to repress and discountenance, would simply have led to the utter disruption of all rule whatever, except that of the sword; since, if the letter of the proclamation was to be rigidly interpreted, and held to, in the sense assumed, it would be impossible to maintain the salutary enactments which had abolished, among the natives of India, the grossest and most revolting of their superstitions. The Pariahs, for instance, as of old, might be compelled to wear bells; and *Nairs* might once more shoot the *Nayadi*, whose shadow is projected on their persons: the *Todars* might perpetuate the custom of killing their female children, and indulge in the enjoyment of a plurality of husbands: fanatics might again claim the privilege to swing on hooks at their festival of the Churrockpoojah; and the rite of *Suttee* would again belch forth its unholy and consuming fires, in defiance of humanity and reason. But it was quite clear, that whatever ambiguity might exist in the rendering of an English state document into the vernacular dialects of India, such never for a moment was intended to be its effect; and it was therefore important that it should be announced to the people of India, that the rites and customs protected by the proclamation were not those which civilisation rejected, and which the laws had for years strenuously endeavoured to repress. It was absurd to suppose that the public highways of a city must necessarily be closed because of some imaginary defilement to the neighbourhood of a pagoda, by the funeral of a low-caste native passing it; or that it could be permitted, that females who had covered their breasts from womanly delicacy, should be maltreated and stripped in the streets, because women of a higher caste chose to consider that mode of dress the distinctive and exclusive badge of their own superiority. Thus it became necessary at once to enforce, without any qualification whatever, the operation of a clause

\* See vol. i., p. 391.



in the royal proclamation, which directly affected the point in dispute, but which the fanatics of high-caste desired to ignore—namely, the paragraph which called upon “all the Queen’s subjects” to submit themselves to the authority of those whom her majesty had appointed to administer the government of her Indian empire. It was also important that it should be distinctly understood by the people, that the government was determined to repress, with a strong hand, all indignities and provocations offered to the natives of any race, upon the plea of caste privileges, however lowly might be their rank in the native populations. A new element of dissatisfaction had thus been engendered by the partial misinterpretations of the royal document; which it became essential to check in its earliest phase, by supplying a correct key to the native reading of the proclamation—the want of which had been mischievously demonstrated by the outrages at Tinnevely and Travancore, as well as by the difficulty suddenly presented to the governments of Bombay and the Punjab, by a perplexing question as to the positive sense in which the terms “British subjects” were to be taken, as distinguished from the expression “our subjects;” both of which were used in the proclamation, and the doubtful application of which had been seized as an authority for the display of most objectionable feeling on the part of the native races of high-caste. The definition of those particular terms, in the sense in which it was desired they should be understood, afforded occasion for a vast amount of correspondence between the viceroy and his lieutenant-governors, which ended rather in evading the point mooted, than in a lucid exposition of it; and the real interpretation was left to the practical teaching of the civil and military authorities, as occasion arose for their interposition.

The rebellion had now, as a national movement, died out; and the few-and-far-between rumours which reached the seat of government towards the end of March, possessed but a faint degree of interest, as well from their uncertain truthfulness as from the unimportance of the operations to which they referred. It was reported, for instance, on the 22nd of the month, that the Nana, with a considerable force, was encamped at Someysur, a short distance beyond the Tirhoot frontier; that a body of rebels were marching upon Goruckpore; and

that two companies of H.M.’s 34th regiment had been cut up in a night attack: but these rumours, which at one period would have occasioned both alarm and inconvenience, now scarcely inflicted a moment’s uneasiness. The mighty evil of a popular rebellion had been so entirely crushed, that these isolated cases of petty annoyance were almost unnoticed, and certainly were uncared for; although the force still adhering to the begum in the Nepaul territory was sufficiently numerous to render great vigilance necessary on the part of the column of observation, under Brigadier Horsford, at Beyram Ghât. A movement of these rebels was notified in the following telegram from the secretary to the government of India, at Calcutta, to the home government, on the 23rd of March:—

“Since the date of my last message, the rebels, under the begum and Ram Sing, have recrossed the river Gunduk, and have marched westward through the Nepaul Terai. On the 16th of March, about 200 rebels, supposed to be an advanced party, entered the Toolseypore territory. The main body, with the chiefs, were said to be at Bhootwal, about twenty-five miles east of the Toolseypore boundary. They are believed to number about 5,000, including women and children. Brigadier Kelly was to have been at Lotun, thirty-six miles from Bhootwal, on the 18th instant. The province of Oude continues tranquil; the disarming of the country, and the demolition of the forts, progress satisfactorily.

“Information has been received from Chundeyree, that the Rao Sahib, with 2,000 cavalry, arrived in the Chundeyrec district on the 13th instant; and arrangements were made for pursuing him. Overtures of surrender had been received both from the Rao and Feroze Shah, who are both said to be anxious to come in. Tantia Topee, when last heard of, was threading the jungles on the Chumbul, under the assumed name of Rao Sing.”

The only results, for some time, known of the movements above reported, were, that the force with Rao Sahib occupied itself in plundering and harassing the district in which it had become located; and that, in accordance with the usual practice of the chief, he fled with his troops as soon as he learned that detachments of the Queen’s troops were on the march towards him.

Among other subjects by which the European mind, in India, was kept on the

*qui vive* during a part of the month of March, the revival of an old Sikh prophecy, referring to the year 1863 of our era, was not the least exciting. By the author of this (a Sikh of Jubbulpore), it was declared, that in the year mentioned, the Sikhs should arise in their strength as a race of mighty warriors—exterminate the Christian Kaffirs, keep Englishwomen as their slaves, and restore the supreme power of the Khalsa. This prognostication came to light under the following circumstances:—An old officer, of superior rank in the Sikh force stationed at Lahore, named Cheytee Sing, was suspected of treasonable practices in conjunction with a fakir, named Bhood Sing, who, in the course of his pilgrimage, had found his way to the before-named city. The house of the Sikh officer was searched, and papers were found connected with the prophecy mentioned, copies of which had been secretly but very extensively distributed among the people. The prediction was, doubtless, agreeable enough to the parties expectant; but it was woefully disastrous in its immediate and unanticipated consequences to those concerned in its promulgation, as the Sikh and his confederate were seized, tried, convicted, condemned to five years' penal servitude at the Andamans, and were on their way thither in chains within forty-eight hours of the discovery—an example of promptitude which, although it somewhat disturbed the English idea of the grave deliberation of justice, was of infinite service in repressing any inconvenient display of native belief in the promised downfall of English authority in 1863; and as the first duty of all governments is to prevent anarchy by repressing it at its source, the vigour manifested in the treatment of this affair was most commendable and effective.

The transmission of the nawab of Furruckabad from the commander-in-chief's camp on the Raptee, to Cawnpore, *en route* for Futteghur, has been already noticed. During the first portion of the journey, the prisoner was in the safe keeping of the 80th regiment, then on its way also to Cawnpore, and no incident occurred to interrupt the regular order of the march; but similar good fortune did not attend the second portion of the journey. The native officer in command of the escort appointed to conduct the prisoner from Cawnpore to Futteghur, had, for meritorious services rendered during the siege at Lucknow, been

promoted to an adjutancy in the mounted police, and it happened that the custody of the nawab was entrusted to a detachment of that corps of which the adjutant had the command. During the journey, the nawab, who by this time had begun to feel the peril into which he had fallen by his voluntary surrender, and was naturally desirous to avert it if possible, made overtures to the commander of the escort, through his servant, with a view to escape, which, although the officer rejected, and ultimately delivered his prisoner in safety, he did not report to his superiors. The circumstance, by some means, became known to the authorities, and the adjutant was in turn put under arrest and sent to Agra for trial by court-martial, and the charge of corresponding with the prisoner upon the subject of a bribe for his escape, being established by documentary evidence in the possession of the adjutant, he was thereupon sentenced to degradation from his rank, and to six months' imprisonment. Three men of the escort were also sentenced to a like period of imprisonment, for complicity in the error of their commander.

In due course the nawab was put upon his trial for treason, and for the aggravated outrages perpetrated upon Europeans at Futteghur in the early days of the revolt.\* The evidence on both points was incontrovertible, and he was adjudged guilty of all the crimes alleged against him, and sentenced to death. On the day the judgment of the court was delivered, the principal hall of his palace, in which the trial took place, was crowded by an anxious multitude of the native inhabitants of Furruckabad, who were deeply impressed with the scene around them, as were also many of the civil and military officers and other residents of the station. Upon the president taking his seat, the prisoner was placed at the bar; his countenance exhibiting calm but haughty indifference. After a few moments, during which profound silence reigned over the crowded assemblage, the president proceeded to deliver the judgment of the court in the following terms:—

"Prisoner at the bar,—Your trial has lasted one month, and the fullest investigation that was possible has been made as to your guilt or innocence. You have been defended by an able English gentleman, who, relying on your own statements, has taken the greatest pains to prove you innocent

\* See vol. i., p. 350.



of the heinous crimes with the commission of which you were charged; and he has also endeavoured to procure your release by every argument of a legal and technical nature which he thought would assist your cause. Nevertheless, we three judges, sitting calmly and deliberately to hear the case for and against you, have unanimously decided that you are guilty. In arriving at this judgment, do not for an instant believe that we have given implicit belief to every word uttered by every witness for the prosecution, or that we have not allowed all the weight that it was worth to the evidence for the defence.

"You yourself have never attempted to deny the facts—*i.e.*, the occurrence of those dreadful crimes which have conferred an historical infamy on Futteghur and Furruckabad, and which have led to your being brought to the bar of justice. And now, prisoner at the bar, consider what are the crimes with the commission of which we, your judges, have convicted you. For what crimes, I repeat, is it, that, as far as we are concerned, we have condemned you to suffer death?

"Her majesty the Queen's gracious amnesty has saved you from that extreme punishment for the crime of being a principal leader and instigator in treason and rebellion which you so ungratefully committed. But if you had committed only that offence, you would have to pass the remainder of your life in a miserable exile. But you stand at that bar, convicted first of being accessory after the fact to a wholesale massacre of English gentlemen, ladies and children, with most of whom you had been living on terms of intimacy—that is, in the language of the law, you received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this massacre; and not only that, but honoured and rewarded some amongst them.

"Secondly, you stand convicted of being both accessory before and after the fact, to the cold-blooded slaughter of twenty-two Christians, including amongst them women and children, who were killed for no other cause than that they were Christians—that is, you not only received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this crime, but you previously procured, counselled, commanded, and abetted those who took away those unhappy victims from your own door. And, as if this were not enough, you have been convicted of this same double crime in

regard to three poor natives (and there is reason to believe that others perished in a similar manner), whose only fault was, that one was faithful to his salt, and that the others were carrying English letters.

"And what is your excuse for all these crimes?—what? but that you were afraid of losing your wretched life (which, after all, has been forfeited) at the hands of the mutinous soldiery, and that you were a puppet in the hands of their leaders, some of whom were of your own kith and lineage. Even if it were true that you occupied this position, what a degrading one it was; how much of cowardice it showed in the descendant and representative of a family and race, hitherto well known in Hindostan for courage and manly qualities! But it is quite impossible to believe that this plea of duress is true, even if there had not been produced ample and trustworthy evidence to refute it.

"You were able to save the lives of Christians, and you twice did save such—once to appease the anger of Heaven, when you were sick and thought yourself dying, and once to gratify your own feelings and inclinations. You were not a close prisoner, and you did exercise all the powers of a ruler in this territory; and in their exercise you committed the awful crimes which I have enumerated. If for the innocent blood that is crying to us from this river and this land we did not sentence you to suffer death—which is mercy itself to the cruel death inflicted under your sanction on so many victims—we should fail in our duty both to God and man.

"It is for the government which is our master, and your master, to decide finally on your fate. You may rely on the whole of your pleas of defence being submitted to that authority. In the meanwhile, I implore you to repent of your crimes, and to make your peace with that God whose laws you have so ruthlessly violated."

During this solemn address, the prisoner was not able wholly to maintain his unconcerned demeanour; and just as the enumeration of the fearful crimes of which the court had adjudged him guilty approached to a close, a change passed over his countenance, and his look became downcast. Soon, however, he controlled his features, and his face resumed its usual expression, except that he now continued to cast down his eyes. The sentence of death by hanging did not produce any further outward and visible sign of feeling,

and no emotions of remorse were manifested by him at any period of the investigation. As soon as the president had concluded, the prisoner was led from the court, and placed under a strong European guard in an apartment of the fort at Futteghur, where he awaited the confirmation of his sentence by the governor-general. It was generally believed that, although the justice of the extreme penalty was universally admitted, it would, for reasons of policy, be commuted to transportation for life.

The case of the rajah of Mitawlee Lonee Sing also occupied the attention of the tribunal about the same time that the crimes of the nawab of Furruckabad were under investigation. The rajah was charged with having been a leader of revolt during the outrages of 1857-'8, his treason being aggravated by brutality and avarice; he having, for the sum of 8,000 rupees, betrayed into the hands of the begum of Oude the following fugitives from Seetapore, who had sought his protection at Mitawlee, in June, 1857—viz., Captain Patrick Orr, with his wife and daughter; Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister Madeline; an orphan girl, daughter of the civil commissioner of Seetapore (Mr. Christian, who was murdered, with his wife and son, at that place on the 3rd of June, 1857);\* Lieutenant G. J. H. Burnes, and Sergeant-major A. Morton; all of whom, except Mrs. Orr and daughter, and Miss Jackson† (Sophia Christian having previously died), were murdered at Lucknow on the 17th of November, 1857.‡ The miscreant, Lonee Sing, was convicted of treason and murder upon the most conclusive evidence, and received sentence of transportation for life, his property being confiscated to the state. From this sentence the sordid traitor appealed to the supreme government; but mitigation in such a case would have been a wrong to mankind.

While the sword of justice was thus uplifted for the punishment of guilt, the state was not unmindful of the claims upon its gratitude for services rendered. Among many others, of various rank and country,

who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and usefulness, were the nawab of Kurnaul (to whom was granted a remission of revenue equal to 5,000 rupees per annum, and a dress of honour, valued at 10,000 rupees, presented in full durbar), and the rajahs of Furreedkote and Moorshedabad, who were also specially regarded as meriting honour and reward. Of the first-named rajah, it is recorded, that "the supreme government, in consideration of the valuable services rendered by him during the crisis of 1857-'8, had directed that, for the future, he should be exempted from furnishing ten sowars to the irregular cavalry, which he had previously been required to do; that his killut should be raised from seven to eleven pieces; and that his title, which then was simply Rajah Sahib Furreed Koteea, should be raised to Berar Buns, Rajah Sahib Bahadoor Furreed Koteea." The services of this individual were active, and at all times zealous. At the first news of the mutiny at Ferozepore,§ he hastened thither with his troops, and guarded the ferries for a considerable distance along the banks of the Sutlej, to prevent any accession to the strength of the mutineers. His troops also accompanied Major Marsden to Seykotee, to quell an insurrection raised by a fanatic Gooroo, who was killed in the fray. He assisted General Van Cortland in arresting fugitive sepoys who endeavoured to escape through the district, and he contributed 35,000 rupees to the Punjab loan for the exigencies of the state. The recognition of services by the nawab of Moorshedabad was yet more substantially shown, as, "in consideration of the valuable services rendered by him during the late mutiny, while exposed to many and severe temptations and trials, to induce him to swerve from his fidelity to the British government," the latter directed that a new palace should be erected for his residence, at a cost of three lacs of rupees.

The hitherto apparently interminable series of ever-shifting and harassing manœuvres by which, for many months past, the most active and energetic of the rebel chiefs of Hindostan had contrived to escape

a beautiful necklace of pearls and rubies, and the governor-general lent the happy pair a house at Barrackpoor-park for the honeymoon. Among the bridesmaids was Miss Louisa Orr, who had shared the perils of the bride both at Seetapore and Lucknow.

† See ante, pp. 94; 257; 259; 380.

§ See vol. i., p. 119.

\* See vol. i., p. 203.  
† The following announcement from a Calcutta paper, in reference to this young lady, appeared in the *Homeward Mail* of May 7th, 1859:—"We are glad to learn that Miss Jackson, who was so providentially saved at Lucknow, was married in March last to her cousin, Mr. Jackson, of the Bengal civil service. Lady Canning presented the bride with



pursuit, and wear out his pursuers, was about to terminate, through the unexpected capture of the one individual who had so long formed in his own person the chief focus and rallying-point for the insurgent bands of Central India. The star of the renowned Tantia Topee was about to sink below the horizon; and by the treachery that precipitated its declension, the last hopes of the rebel chiefs of India were destroyed.

One of the most remarkable features of the revolt had hitherto been the unswerving and long-continued fidelity of the sepoy, the rebellious natives, and the chiefs, towards each other. Treachery is the traditionary policy of all Asiatics; and the greatest and most successful rulers among them have generally risen to empire through its instrumentality; while the early ascendancy of British power was greatly, if not chiefly, aided by it. To pass slightly over the long, dark record of Anglo-Indian greatness, "the treachery of the merchant Ormichund in 1757, established English supremacy in Bengal; and, in the same year, the double treachery of Lord Clive destroyed the all-powerful Ormichund—the stepping-stone to power:"\* but in the rebellion just suppressed, there had, until now, been scarcely an instance of it. Rewards were offered for delivering up rebel sepoys, sufficiently stimulating in ordinary cases—fifty rupees for each one armed, thirty for each disarmed; yet the people did not deliver them up, although, after battles in which sepoys were defeated, they were straggling singly all over the country. On the march in search of the enemy, the English commanders could either obtain no information at all, or such only as misled

them, and many of their battles were rather the consequence of surprises than of pre-concerted strategy. Immense rewards were offered for the persons of rebel chiefs; but none were given up. At first, the reason assigned for this unexpected, and, in this case, *unnational*, fidelity was, that the people were incredulous as to the stability of the power of the Europeans, and were afraid to compromise themselves with the rebels, less the latter should eventually succeed in the struggle; but, on the other hand, it was predicted, that when they were really satisfied the mastery was with the British, they would aid them. Battle after battle followed, all ending in victory. The British columns closed in from the south on all sides, defeating the enemy as they advanced, and wresting from him his strongest fortresses. Delhi fell; Lucknow was taken; Oude laid prostrate; and Rohilcund overrun by the victorious troops: but no sign of treachery was exhibited among the rebels. Such an unanimity of fidelity, so foreign to the Asiatic character, was little other than marvellous.

But, at length, a revulsion to the natural state of Hindoo feeling commenced, and the old leaven of insincerity began to work upon the native character. The earliest instance of its appearance was in the case of a Brahmin at Gwalior, who, in August, 1858, had endeavoured to instigate some sepoys, Hindoos of Oude, to induce the 25th Bombay native infantry to join the Nana. The sepoys were treacherous: they pretended to approve the plot; obtained all necessary information; joined the conspirators; and then sold them to their officers.† Such was the first instance of Hindoo treachery to Hindoos. The next,

\* Martin's *India*, pp. 276; 280.

† The annexed details of this plot are from a private letter from Gwalior:—"As many different accounts of the following affair may get into circulation, I am anxious to give you the true version, which tends to raise still higher the loyalty of the Bombay army, as exemplified by the undermentioned men of the 25th regiment of native infantry. About three weeks ago, the havildar-major of the above corps, by name Koonjul Sing, reported to his adjutant that a Brahmin pundit, named Wamun Bhut, had come into the lines, and was endeavouring to tamper with him and a naik named Doorga Tewaree; and from what he had said, the havildar-major thought there were others concerned in the plot in the city of Gwalior; and he offered, if allowed, in conjunction with the naik, to endeavour to find out and seize the chief conspirators. This secret was communicated to the commanding officer, Captain Little; and, with his sanction, the following plan

was adopted, and a private of the 25th also let into the secret, named Punnoo Ladh. The naik and the private went to the city, along with the Brahmin pundit, Wamun Bhut, and were by him introduced to another Brahmin, named Ball Kissen Baba. Their conversation would be too long to repeat here. Suffice it to say, that after first swearing them on the 'Toolsee and Gunga-panee,' he told them he had a purwana from the Nana Sahib, authorising him to raise as many men as he could for the Peishwa's service; that he and the havildar-major were to seduce the Purdasees of the 25th from their allegiance to the British government, and get them to join the rebels under the Peishwa, who would collect in the city of Gwalior to the number of 600 men with four guns. That they were to do as much mischief as they could by killing all their officers, and as many Europeans as possible; that the day after they would be joined by 20,000 rebels under the Rao Sahib, &c.; and much more

as will be seen, was developed in a higher grade of society, and at a later period; but the work of treachery had recommenced. All confidence between the rebel hosts and their leaders was shaken; and it became likely that the emulation among them would now be in striving to obtain pardon by being first in denouncing each other. The neck of the rebellion was broken; for the link in the vertebral pillar which had hitherto supported it, was rent asunder; and the energies of the government of India were henceforth to be directed to the restoration of order, rather than to the punishment of crime.

The capture of Tantia Topee, the most dangerous, persevering, and elusive of the rebel leaders, was immediately preceded by one or two successful skirmishes with the troops under his command; and the outline of these operations may be described as follows. It has already been stated that several of the chiefs had surrendered to the English commanders in different localities; and the exigencies of the struggle had at length become so desperate in every direction, that it was confidently expected despair and regret would quickly compel most of the other leaders to give themselves up. With this idea, Sir R. Napier was occupied in watching the jungles of Seronge, in the heart of Central India, and about 213 miles directly south of Agra. At the same moment, the Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah were at Mungrowlee, some thirty miles distant, on their way to Chundeyree; while General Wheeler, who had marched

from Saugor on the 4th of March, to shut the outlets of escape on the east, moved first to Ratghur, then to Bagrode, and thence to Korrai, where, on the 13th, he gave up the chase.

The rebels had now reached Chundeyree, and were within twenty miles of Brigadier Little's column at Lullutpore; but this officer, in ignorance of the position of the enemy, moved, on the 13th, from the last-named place to Pahlee, without encountering even a straggler from the flying camps of the rebels. General Napier, wearied by inaction, now determined upon entering the Seronge jungles, that he might, if possible, beat up the enemy's quarters; and a force under Colonel Rich, another under Colonel Meade, a wing of the 92nd highlanders, and the brigade of Colonel De Salis, moved into the jungles, taking different directions. The disposition of the troops was admirable—Colonel De Salis patrolling the Trunk road north to Budrunghur; Colonel Rich going through the jungles to his right, at a distance of five or six miles; the 92nd to the right of Colonel Rich; and cavalry on the right of the 92nd;—these parallel lines all joining at Budrunghur. On the 25th of the month, the 92nd arrived at that place, and immediately went on to Goonah, where the cavalry arrived in the morning, and the infantry in the afternoon, the patrols of Colonel De Salis retiring to Ragoghur: but, during these movements hitherto, not a single rebel was seen or heard of; the villagers, who appeared profoundly ignorant of all useful intelligence,

conversation of the same stamp. The naik returned, and duly reported all he had seen and heard; and he was certain there were others in the conspiracy. From the difficulty of seizing and securing the rebels in a large city, it was determined not to allow the havildar-major (whom they were most anxious to meet) to go there, being fully convinced that if he did not go to see them, they would eventually be induced to come to him, which would ensure a better chance of securing them. The plot went on ripening for days, the naik duly reporting everything that occurred; until one day the naik and private met, by appointment in a house in the city, the before-mentioned two rebels, and also a chief conspirator named Khannoo, and a pundit named Govind Row, who showed and read to them the above purwana from the Peishwa. At length, after great difficulty, on Sunday, the 29th (August), the naik made an appointment for the Mahratta chief and pundit, Govind Row, to meet the havildar-major under a large tree, a little way from camp, the next day, and they were to bring the purwana with them. The officers, viz., commanding officer, adjutant, and quartermaster, were told of the appointment; and it was arranged, when

the havildar-major went to meet them, these officers should go quietly on horseback as if riding for pleasure, get near the tree, and seize the parties. The rebels did not come up on Monday, as it rained; but on Tuesday, the 31st, they came, were seized, and the purwana found on them—thus two were captured on the spot. Two officers and the naik immediately proceeded to the city, and with the assistance of the political agent, Major M'Pherson, seized the Brahmin, Ball Kissen Baba, in the house the naik pointed out; and to make everything successful, the Brahmin pundit, Wamun Bhut, was seized in the lines on Wednesday morning by the havildar-major." Later intelligence, communicated in a letter dated the 8th of September, says—"The four gentlemen Pandies detected tampering with the 25th regiment of native infantry, were blown from the guns on the 7th instant. The papers taken from these would-be traitors, have yielded some very valuable information, which has led to the apprehension of sixty prisoners, who are now under trial, and probably we shall be compelled to waste a little more powder. This place is at least half as large as Bombay, and seems a regular hotbed of sedition."



only knew that they had been there ten days or a fortnight previous, and either could not, or would not, give any further information: the jungle was almost impenetrable, and the columns met with immense difficulty in the attempt to pass through it. One officer (Captain Mayne) repeatedly climbed trees, to discover, if possible, some opening by which the cavalry might advance; and Colonel Rich was compelled to cut down a considerable extent of forest, to open a road for his infantry on camels. Colonel De Salis's patrols lost their way, and one of them came upon Colonel Rich's camp. Colonel Lockhart's commissariat arrived at Ragoghur, instead of Goonah, having taken a route south-westward, instead of due north. The day after the troops reached Goonah, an order from General Napier directed a movement upon Arone, some twenty miles distant.

On the 30th of March, Sir R. Napier still lay at Seronge, and De Salis's brigade at Ragoghur; the rebels being still undiscovered, but supposed to have separated into small parties—the bulk of them being on the Parbuttee river, south-west of Narsinghur. Whilst thus unsuccessful in this part of Central India, somewhat of better fortune crowned the operations in the districts lying eastward. The rebels Ronmast Sing, of Rewah, and Furzund Ali, who had ordered the attack and murder of the railway engineers at Etawah,\* were pursued by Captain Venables with a portion of the 97th regiment, and Captain Rushton with some Madras rifles, into the territory of the rajah of Singrowlee, where, in their panic, they separated. The pursuit, however, continued, and a portion of the fugitives were caught at Saleia, in the neighbourhood of Punnah, where they were severely cut up. Another body of them made their way from Dooder, westward, along the Soane, and got into the Rholas hills—some of them even finding their way into the Sonthal territory, where they were roughly used by the inhabitants, who refused to harbour them; others, driven from this cheerless shelter, crossed the Ganges by means of the Sangha, or Jhoola, or such expedients as came to hand, carefully avoiding the Ghauts, and so managed to get away into the hills of the Nepaul territory; thus for a time escaping from the retributive sword which flashed behind them.

\* See ante, p. 584.

Up to the end of March, therefore, the several detachments employed in tracing the rebel bands to their lair, were fairly baffled, and wearied by their unprofitable exertions. But this unsatisfactory state of things was about to terminate; and, on the 2nd of April, a portion of the force, under the command of General Napier, came up with a body of the enemy near the Seronge jungles, and signally defeated them; Maun Sing, rajah of Powrie (a fortress near Jhansie), who was with the rebels, surrendering himself to Colonel Meade immediately after the action; and by the instrumentality of this defeated traitor, the capture of his chief, the redoubtable Tantia Topee, was eventually accomplished.

Immediately after the successful *rencontre* of the 2nd of April, the columns under Colonels De Salis and Rich, and Captain Bolton, made a combined movement in the jungles, and, on the 3rd, succeeded in discovering a strong body of the rebels under the Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah, and Tantia Topee, whom they attacked and dispersed with great loss.

The circumstances attending this fortunate occurrence were as follows:—On the 3rd of April, Captain Bolton, the assistant-quartermaster-general, assisted by his spies, discovered the lurking-place of the rebels. They were amongst the hills, at a place called Goonjaree, about twelve miles from De Salis's camp, and it was therefore resolved to attack them. Captain Bolton discovered a path through the jungle practicable for men and horses, and by this route the main body of the brigade marched upon the enemy; the remainder, with the baggage, proceeding by the direct road. About nine o'clock it was discovered that the enemy were doubling round the right of the main body, and on the other side of the hill. The force accordingly counter-marched for some distance; and, upon ascertaining the position of the enemy, the column was formed in skirmishing order, the 8th hussars keeping to the right, which was the only ground where cavalry could act. After advancing for nearly a mile through thick jungle, the enemy were seen under a large tope of trees at the foot of the hills. This, however, was only for a moment. They disappeared, and all traces of them were lost for several hours, until a body of 300 cavalry, well mounted and equipped, suddenly dashed out of some deep nullah, upon a part of the baggage, then only

protected by a few soldiers of the 95th and some men of the 10th native infantry, whose combined strength did not amount to more than ten or twelve men. Few as they were in numbers they were in no ways daunted, but presented a bold front to the enemy, and by their rapid fire prevented the whole of the baggage from being carried off. They were, however, unable to save the band-master of the 10th native infantry, who was hacked to pieces by the murderous sepoys. While engaged in their work of pillage, the Gwalior guardsmen are stated to have indulged in a good deal of boasting at the expense of the brigade in front. They were continually demanding to know where the brigade was, so that they might have an opportunity of cutting up the whole force. They disdained, they said, to fight with a few scattered soldiers and camp-followers, and would infinitely prefer cutting up our troops *en masse*. While indulging in such empty gasconading, and helping themselves to whatever they could lay their hands upon, they suddenly perceived the rear-guard of the 10th native infantry pouring through the trees, and a squadron of the 8th hussars debouching upon the open. The sowars were in their saddles in a moment, and were far in the dense of the jungles before the reinforcement could reach the baggage. Captain Bolton having discovered the place where they had concealed themselves, a column was detached on the evening of the 6th inst. to attack them. It consisted of detachments of her majesty's 8th hussars, 95th foot, and 10th native infantry, partly on foot, and partly on camels. After a march of twenty-four miles the rebels were surprised, and at once attacked. Our troops committed fearful havoc amongst them, remembering their cowardly and brutal conduct the previous day. They were shot down and bayoneted in heaps, and no quarter was either asked or given. A considerable number managed to effect their escape, but it was only to fall into the hands of Rich's column, which was advancing from the opposite direction. A number took refuge in a village, which they resolved to defend to the last. It was surrounded; but, driven to desperation, they resisted every effort to drive them from the houses in which they took shelter. To prevent an unnecessary sacrifice of our soldiers' lives, it was resolved to fire the village, and in a short time the place was enveloped in flames. Those who tried to

escape were either sabred by the dragoons, or bayoneted by the infantry. Many, however, preferred remaining in the houses until they were consumed, and met death with a stoicism worthy of a better cause. Those who had sought refuge round the village were soon hunted up and cut down by the cavalry. In the two actions of the morning and the afternoon, upwards of six hundred of the rebels perished, including many officers and men of rank amongst them. A subahdar of the Gwalior contingent was recognised amongst the slain; and the appearance of many others showed that they were above the ordinary standard of those the troops had hitherto been in the habit of engaging. The rebel body-guard of Scindia were conspicuous for the splendour of their appearance, and the brilliancy of their equipments. Their belts and pouches shone with polish, and their buckles and silver ornaments sparkled in the morning sun. They were all magnificently mounted; and both riders and horses seemed perfect, both as regarded equipment and caparison.

Some particulars of the action of the 5th of April, are supplied by the following letter from Mhow:—

"An express has just reached Mhow, with the good news that part of Smith's brigade, consisting of 80 of the 8th hussars, 150 of the 95th, and 130 of the 10th N.I., the two latter mounted on Samni camels, after marching all night on the 4th (twenty-three miles), came upon and surprised 800 rebels at daylight the next morning, at a village called Tinsia, in the heart of the dense belt of jungles west of Seronge. Tinsia is about thirty miles due west of Seronge, and about ten north-east of Muxooden-nuggur fort, and near Jookur. Smith's brigade started after them on the 3rd; but the rebel party under the Rao, hearing of their approach, soon horsed, and made direct for the Trunk road, where they fell in with a portion of the baggage-train of the brigade, two gharries of which they plundered, and killed some of the men, one of whom was a European band-master of the 10th N.I. They then appeared to have turned north, and united with Tantia Topee and Feroze Shah, who thought themselves securely encamped in the thickest part of the jungles. The prisoners taken—some of whom were Bengal sepoys, and others men of Scindia's body-guard—reported that Tantia, Feroze Shah, and Govind were all



present. One man of some distinction among them, and supposed to be the last-named, was cut down by an 8th hussar. Of the 800 rebels at the beginning of the encounter, 350 at least were killed; while our casualties are but trifling, having only ten wounded, and not one killed; but many of our men are reported missing, having doubtless lost themselves in the jungle. A large quantity of baggage, and some camels, horses, and ponies fell into our hands."

After the fight, Tantia Topee separated from the Rao and Feroze Shah, and again ran to cover; but his haunt was known to his late confederate and friend, Maun Sing of Powrie; and, upon his treacherous information, the chief was captured by Colonel Meade's force on the 7th of April. The following telegram, from Colonel Meade to Lord Elphinstone, officially announced the event:—

"From Mahoodra, *via* Sepree, 8th April, half-past six P.M.—Tantia Topee captured by this detachment, with Maun Sing's assistance, last night. He is now a prisoner in camp, awaiting orders for his disposal."

After the defeat and dispersion of the rebels on the 5th and 6th of April, both Feroze Shah and the Rao Sahib were lost sight of for some time, although supposed to be still lurking in the jungle. In the meantime the double traitor, Maun Sing, was busied negotiating with the English commander for the betrayal of Tantia Topee, as the price of his own safety; but having surrendered to Colonel Meade, as stated, immediately after the action of the 2nd of April, he took up his quarters in the English camp at Sepree. About midnight on the 3rd, he sent word to the colonel, that Agret Sing, with other rebels, were in the Parone jungles, ten miles off, and might be surprised. Meade at once started with a detachment to effect this; but it turned out that the party was sixteen miles distant, and the detachment did not reach their neighbourhood till the sun was up. The consequence was that they escaped, leaving their clothes, pugries, &c., on the ground; and Maun Sing, affecting reluctance, would not speak out about Tantia Topee till the afternoon of the 7th, when at length, after much discussion, he agreed to make the attempt to seize the chief. At his request, a small party of native infantry was placed under his orders, and sent quietly to Parone that evening, Maun Sing having previously gone there himself in the

afternoon. The men were placed in ambush by his people; and about 2 A.M. he took them himself to the spot where Tantia Topee was sleeping, with two pundits. Maun Sing seized his arms, and Tantia Topee was at once secured. The pundits escaped. He had got twenty-five miles off on his way to join the Rao, when Maun Sing's men deceived him, and induced him to return. He would have been quite out of reach in two hours more. He was at once conveyed into Sepree in a dhooly, where the party arrived on the morning of the 13th instant. Every precaution was taken to prevent escape or rescue; and at first, it appears, some indecision was exhibited at head-quarters as to his disposal. No natives were allowed to approach the prisoner; and, on the 14th, an escort was told-off to convey him to Gwalior, where the members of his family were already confined in the fort. During the day, however, in consequence of a telegraphic communication, the order for his removal was cancelled, and it was determined he should be tried by a court-martial on the spot. While imprisoned in the camp, although heavily fettered, the demeanour of the betrayed chief was dignified and consistent. On the 15th he was brought before the military judges, the charges on which he was arraigned being confined to rebellion, and opposition to the British government by force of arms. The proceedings occupied the whole day; and the decision of the court was at length announced, that he should perish on a scaffold. When the officer told him, the previous day, to prepare for his trial, Tantia said that he knew, for fighting against the British government, his punishment would be death; he wanted no court, and he therefore wished to be dispatched (holding up his manacles) from this misery, either from a gun or by the noose, as quickly as possible. He did not wish to see his relatives; but the only thing he asked the government was, that they would not punish his family for transactions in which they had no concern. The charge on which he was tried was read to him on the previous day; in answer to which he made a statement, which was committed to writing, and afterwards read to him by a moonshee, to whom he listened attentively, occasionally correcting the statement, which he ultimately signed in good English characters—"Tantia Topee."

The following personal description of the

doomed chief, is from a letter dated "Sepree, April 14th:"—"Tantia Toppee is forty-nine years of age; stands about five feet six; is stout and well made; has a pretty large head, of great breadth from ear to ear. It is covered bountifully with strong grey hair, with beard, moustache, and whiskers to match. His cheek-bones are slightly elevated; and his black eye, under sharply-arched eyebrows, is clear and piercing. Altogether, his features are intelligent and expressive, denoting decision, energy, and ability. Tantia is a Brahmin; and the Brahminical cord is always very religiously placed over the ear when he goes out of his tent to prepare his meals, &c. He performs his ablutions, goes through his genuflexions, and prepares and devours his *khanna* once a day, with all the strictness and religious ceremonies of his caste, having members of the Brahmin caste there to attend him. His execution was announced to take place at 4 P.M. on the 18th; so I proceeded to where the scaffold was erected. The ground was kept by some men of the 24th and 9th native infantry, and some of Meade's horse. Tantia was brought from his tent in the fort by an escort of the 3rd Bengal Europeans; and then a considerable square was formed, with the gallows in the centre. The companies of the 24th and 9th native infantry formed one side; the men of the 14th dragoons and 17th lancers, who had come into the station that morning and the previous day, were drawn up on another side; the detachment of 3rd Bengals and Meade's horse, in considerable strength, formed the two remaining sides. A considerable number of natives were scattered all over the plain; and any little elevation commanding a view of the scaffold, was thickly studded with white-clad spectators. Tantia had expressed some anxiety to know his fate, and to have it expeditiously executed.

"On the brink of the grave he did not wish to keep hovering,  
Nor his thread wish to spin o'er again."

Consequently, at twelve (noon), it was intimated to him that he was to be executed that evening. He again feelingly expressed a wish that, as they were about to take his life, the government would see to his family in Gwalior. Major Reade read the charge—that he, being a resident at Bithoor, in British territory, was guilty of rebellion in waging war against the British govern-

ment. The finding of the court was 'guilty,' and the sentence, that he be hanged by the neck until he was dead. The *mistree* then knocked off the leg-irons; he mounted the rickety ladder with as much firmness as handcuffs would allow him; was then pinioned and his legs tied, he remarking that there was no necessity for these operations; and he then deliberately put his head into the noose, which being drawn tight by the executioner, the fatal bolt was drawn. He struggled very slightly, and the *meheters* were called to drag him straight. A sergeant of the 3rd Bengals acted as hangman. Thus finished the career of the rebel chief, Tantia Toppee, with all the due solemnities of British military routine. When the suspended body became motionless, the troops were all marched off, and the body remained hanging for the remainder of the evening. After the troops left, a great scramble was made by officers and others to get a lock of his hair, &c."

Tantia Toppee was a Brahmin of the Deccan, having been born in the zillah of Ahmednuggur. He attached himself, at an early age, to the court of the late Peishwa, Bajee Rao, and was, from his boyhood, the constant companion of Dhondia Punt, of Bithoor, commonly called the Nana Sahib. He was well skilled in military tactics, and had made the old predatory system of Mahratta warfare his study. From the hour of his capture to that of his death, he exhibited no symptoms of either trepidation or despondency. He seemed to feel that the end was come; and it was easy to perceive, in his general demeanour, that he was quite prepared to yield up the life he had hazarded upon the cast of the die. Revolting as were his crimes, he attempted neither palliation nor extenuation. He gave no mercy, and he sued for none; stern and relentless to the last, he yielded up his life without a murmur or a struggle, betraying as little symptoms of nature or humanity on the scaffold at Sepree, as he must have done by the well at Cawnpore. He denied having taken any part in the massacre; but it is known that he commanded, at the time, one of the divisions of the Nana Sahib's army; and his exploits were more numerous and dashing than those of any of the other rebel leaders. He led the Gwalior contingent in person when Wyndham's camp was burnt, in November, 1857. Sustaining, however, a severe repulse at the hands



of Sir Colin Campbell, and losing sixteen of his guns, he crossed the Jumna, and fell back upon Calpee. But here he did not remain long. Intelligence of the victorious entry of Sir Hugh Rose into Central India, the relief of Saugor, the fall of Garrakota, and the perilous position of the ranees of Jhansie, induced him to evacuate Calpee, and march southward. On the 1st of April, 1858, he first crossed swords with Sir H. Rose on the banks of the Betwa, and his troops were driven in disorder, by only a handful of the Central India field force, from under the very battlements of the beleaguered city. He also commanded at Agra, and sustained a severe repulse at the hands of Brigadier-general Greathed. In the course of twelve months he fought twenty pitched battles, viz.:—The Betwa, Koonch, engagements before Calpee, Gwalior, Kote-ke-Serai, Sanganeer, Budwarra, Kotarra, Inoor Gowlie, Sindwa, Kurrai, Rajpore, Oodeypore, Pertamburgh, Dhoosa, Burrache, Zeerapore, Koorhana, and Seronge. In every one of these engagements he was defeated, with the loss of guns innumerable, and hundreds of his followers. During the whole period he had only two successes—one at Gwalior and one at Esangurgh; and, on both occasions, they were over native troops, who, instead of opposing him, ranged themselves under his banners. Setting aside his skirmishes, he encountered, in successive engagements, more than a dozen of our best British general officers and brigadiers. His first vanquisher was Greathed; and he was succeeded by Rose, Napier, Michel, Roberts, Smith, Parke, De Salis, Showers, Benson, Somerset, Horner, and Rich, who worsted the Pindarree leader wherever they encountered him. His success lay in the celerity of his marches, his knowledge of the country, and the freebooting manner he adopted to obtain supplies. He carried along with him neither baggage nor commissariat, compelling the countries through which he passed to provide him with everything that his army required.

A notice of this remarkable man appeared in a Calcutta paper,\* from which the following passages are extracted:—

“Tantia Topee, according to the official account, is a Brahmin, from the neighbourhood of Calpee. Up to the period of the mutinies he is said to have been a money-changer, and probably never saw a shot

\* *The Friend of India.*

fired in anger in his life. The mutinies, however, so full of possible careers, and so deficient in men to pursue them, seem to have woke him up to a new ambition. Where or how he became connected with the Nana, or whether he was connected with him at all, seems to be one of the endless uncertainties attending his biography. It is doubtful, even, whether the strange name by which he is known among Europeans is an invention, a nickname (‘the weaver artillerist’), or a corruption of his real title as commandant of the Peishwa’s artillery. His first appearance as a recognised leader was at the battle of the Jumna, where he appeared as commander-in-chief of the army of the Peishwa—so called, we imagine, not because it obeyed the Nana, but because its nucleus was formed from the Gwalior contingent. These men—Scindia, their immediate sovereign, being openly hostile to them—had no resource but to fall back upon the ancient authority of the Peishwa, just as the sepoys of the Mussulman states, passing over the king of Oude, fell back upon the emperor of Delhi. It is curious, by the way, to observe how little the theory of legitimacy, in the European sense, entered into their ideas. They looked only to the powers who immediately preceded the British raj. The true head of the Mahrattas, for instance, is the heir, whoever he may be, of the Sattara family, the descendants of Sevajee. The only legitimate Hindoo monarch in Northern India, the rana of Oodeypore, was defied and insulted by his own troops.

“At the battle of the Jumna, Tantia planned the most formidable attack with which Sir Hugh Rose had to contend. He was not, however, present—retiring, then and ever afterwards, at the very beginning of the fray. His career is a strange one for a coward; but either personal timidity, or a mistaken policy, has made this habit the weak point of his proceedings. Thoroughly acquainted with his countrymen, their prejudices, and their credulity, Tantia has repeatedly raised armies from the ground. He seizes some admirable position, posts his force with a skill which leads English generals to anticipate a severe contest, and then flies on ahead to plot again, leaving the web he has already spun to be torn to pieces. Immediately after the fall of Calpee, his influence was felt in one of the heaviest blows dealt us in the war. He had contrived to secrete himself in Gwalior,

where, screened by a small section of the durbar, who longed for the old days of plunder, he opened communications with Scindia's remaining troops. He secured them all. Scindia, aware as he was of the character of his countrymen, finding he could not obtain Europeans, met the rebels advancing on Gwalior with his own forces. They all fled or deserted, except a few of his body-guard, and Tantia Topee gained a kingdom at a stroke. He had possession of the city, the richest remaining to the Mahrattas; of its fortress, one of the strongest in India; stores to equip a great army for the field; artillery in abundance, and a treasure estimated at from £1,500,000 to £5,000,000. He had at least 22,000 soldiers; and a single victory, a successful skirmish against the Europeans, would have brought him 100,000 men. The blow was felt by every Englishman in India; though the natives, who have an instinctive perception of the vital points of the empire, considered the march of a few hundred men into the Delta infinitely more important. With an enemy less persevering than the British, Tantia might have founded a great state, rebuilt the Mahratta power, and reigned as Peishwa—an office not originally hereditary. Sir Hugh Rose, however, approached; the old terrors fell fast on Tantia and his followers, and Gwalior was evacuated without the contest it deserved.

"And then commenced that marvellous series of retreats which, continued for ten months, seemed to mock at defeat, and made Tantia Topee's name more familiar to Europe than that of most of our Anglo-Indian generals. His reputation, though exaggerated by the fact that all other resistance had ceased, was by no means undeserved. The problem before him was not an easy one. He had to keep together an army of beaten Asiatics, bound by no tie to his person, and bound to each other only by one common hate and one common fear—hate of the British name, and fear of the British gallows. He had to keep this ill-assorted army in constant motion, at a pace which should baffle not only the enemies who pursued him, but the enemies who streamed down at right angles to his line of march. He had, while thus urging his half-disciplined host to mad flight, to take some dozen cities, obtain fresh stores, collect new cannon, and, above all, induce recruits to join voluntarily a service which promised only incessant flight at sixty miles

a-day. That he accomplished these ends with the means at his disposal, indicates ability of no mean kind. Slightly as we may hold the marauding leader, he was of the class to which Hyder Ali belonged; and had he carried out the plan attributed to him, and penetrated through Nagpore to Madras, he might have been as formidable as his prototype. As it was, the Nerbudda proved to him what the Channel was to Napoleon. He could accomplish anything, except cross the stream. His original idea, if we may judge from his marches, was to collect a great army from the little states bordering on the Nerbudda valley, fly down towards Bombay at a pace which should baffle pursuit, cross into the Deccan, and raise the true Mahratta provinces, and perhaps a large section of the Bombay army. He was disappointed by movements which form one of the most remarkable features of the struggle. The government of Bombay could find no troops to catch, or even seriously to threaten him with capture. But they could and did find a succession of movable columns who presented themselves at the shortest notice at every menaced point. From the moment he quitted Gwalior to the moment he surrendered at Scronge, Tantia Topee found but one great place at once rich in munitions and undefended. These columns, which moved at first as slowly as British columns are accustomed to move, learnt to march at last; and some of the later marches of Brigadier Parke and Colonel Napier were equal to half of Tantia's average rate. Still he escaped; and through the hot weather, and the rains, and the cold weather, and the hot weather again, he was still flying, sometimes with 2,000 'dispirited' followers, and sometimes with 15,000 men. His last experiment was to penetrate into Bikaner; but it failed, and he was compelled to double back on Bundelcund, where all hope of further retreat seems to have left him. He took, as Koer Sing did, to the jungle—was caught, and died. His betrayer, Maun Sing, is not held in very high estimation, although he carries himself with a lofty air enough at Sepree, his capital city. He is described as being a fine-looking man, standing upwards of six feet high. When he reached the camp he appeared to have undergone a great deal of hardship, his habiliments looking rather worn. He has a long black beard, with a very sharp black eye. He had on his head a red pugrie; on his back, one of those thick padded coats,



all ornamented with sewing in gold thread; and, on his legs, a pair of silk pantaloons the worse for wear. His arms consisted of a fine brace of pistols, gold-mounted; a double-barrelled rifle, with one of those country-made swords. He had 200 followers, but twenty only came in along with him; all of them fine, big, strapping fellows, to all appearance likely men for anything. He has his tent and his guard under some trees, close by the encampment of the European detachment, and is the lion of Sepree at present. Maun rides out on his prancing charger or smart-going elephant, driving the latter himself, iron spike in hand, followed by his limited retinue and the tag-rag-and-bobtail of the station. The fellow is reported to have met Tantia in an adjacent village, where he left him under the pretext of going to collect his men. Instead, however, of doing so, he rode straight to the British camp, and gave the necessary information. He then returned to the village, and lay down with the man he had betrayed, to have a little sleep. At a given signal, the sepoys of the 9th native infantry rushed in and seized Tantia almost before he was thoroughly awake. No resistance was offered, and the Pindarree leader was carried in irons into Sepree. The rest is known."

While, by the successful operations of the British troops, the last fires of rebellion in Central India were being trampled out, the borders of Nepaul still continued the scene of a desultory mountainous warfare, of which an idea may be gathered from the following glance at the movements of the respective forces opposed to each other.

We have already seen that the outlets from the Nepaul territory, on the Gunduk, were to be carefully watched, to prevent the possibility of any portion of the rebels, with the begum, crossing back into Oude. The river Gunduk, as traced upon the map, falls into the plains at Soopoor, north-east of Goruckpore; and, amidst the hills west of Soopoor, at a place called Betaul or Bhootwal, the forces of the begum were encamped. From this position they might either advance into the plains, directly south from Betaul, or by a pass to the eastward, through which the Gunduk ran. It was therefore highly important that these two outlets should be effectually closed before an attempt could be made to use them. Accordingly, Colonel Kelly placed himself on the east bank of the river at Boggah;

whilst Colonel Simpson, on the west bank, took a position at Niehnowl, from whence he could watch the two passes leading from Betaul into the plains. Such, it appears, were the relative positions of the several forces on the 13th of March. Somewhat later, it was ascertained that there was nothing to be feared on the east bank of the Gunduk; and both Kelly's and Simpson's forces advanced towards Betaul, where, on the 25th, Colonel Kelly attacked the rebels, drove them back into the jungles, and inflicted severe loss upon them, at the same time capturing four of their guns. Again, on the 28th, Kelly encountered the enemy, and defeated them, capturing, upon this occasion, six elephants, 30 camels, and more than 300 horses, with a large quantity of baggage. In this affair about 400 of the begum's troops were left dead upon the field, and many prisoners were taken. The mass of the rebels were then driven over the first line of hills on the Nepaul territory; the begum, Bala Rao, and the Nana, seeking safety beyond the second line. A chief, named Mirza Nadir, with fifty followers, surrendered immediately after the action, and several other leaders also applied for permission to come in under the terms of the amnesty. In the extremity to which the begum and her principal adherents were now reduced, Jung Bahadoor again chivalrously offered that princess, and the Ranee Chunda of Lahore, an asylum within his territories; but he accompanied the offer with a declaration, that if the Nana, or other leaders of the rebel troops who had trespassed upon the frontier of Nepaul, should fall into his hands, he would assuredly deliver them over to the British government.

The almost monotonous calm that prevailed in Oude for some time after the commander-in-chief published his announcement that the war was at an end, was at length disturbed by some stirring events in that quarter. The defeats inflicted on the Oude rebels on the 25th and 28th of March, have been recently noticed; and the surrender of several personages of distinction in the rebel army, which followed those disasters, for a time encouraged the belief of a general intention on the part of the enemy to give up the hopeless struggle. Such, however, was not the case; and, on the 31st of March, a sharp engagement between a party of the 1st Ferozepore Sikhs and a strong body of the

rebels, which at first promised a favourable result to the latter, showed that the sword was not yet destined to rest useless in the scabbard. The circumstances of this affair were described as follows:—

The 1st Ferozepore Sikhs, who had marched from Toolseypore for the Jirwee Pass, ten miles off, were attacked *en route* by a greatly superior rebel force. The regiment was soon completely surrounded, and formed square, their baggage being in the enemy's possession for some time. Lieutenant Grant, the adjutant, was killed; Lieutenant Beckett most dangerously wounded; and another officer (Anderson) less severely. According to the *Standard*, Major Gordon also fell. Thirty-five Sikhs, and ten of Hodson's horse, were killed; several camp-followers, and a great number of men and horses, were wounded. The rebels retreated at last from the fire of the square; and a battery, with some men of the 53rd regiment on the carriages, got up just too late to be of service.

According to the latest intelligence, the Rao Sahib and the Nana, with perhaps 10,000 men, are between the first and second range of hills. The Gonda rajah and Nusseerabad brigade had gone westward—a large body turning south, and scattering themselves over the districts of Nanpara, Bhinga, Gonda, and Bareitch. A second encounter now ensued. While Brigadier Horsford was pursuing the rebels who had fought in the above action from the direction of Toolseypore, they appeared near Chandanpore, due north of Bhinga. Here Major Ramsay attacked them with the Kumaon battalion and a squadron of the 1st Punjab cavalry, and drove them back with loss into the jungle near Toolseypore. They seem to have dispersed—part, on the 6th of April, crossing the Raptee near Bhinga; and part going to the jungles east of Toolseypore, where Colonel Brasyer, with part of the Dakharee force, was pursuing them. About 1,000 of the enemy attacked Akonah, a fortified village near Bareitch, and plundered and burnt it.

On the 13th of April, a numerous body of rebels were utterly beaten and dispersed eight miles from Gonda, on the Fyzabad road, by a force under Lieutenant-colonel Cormick, consisting of a wing of H.M.'s 20th, 200 of the 1st Sikh cavalry, and a squadron of Hodson's horse. The rebels were chiefly men of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments—infamous for having been en-

gaged in the massacre at Cawnpore: 300 or 400 of the rebels were killed. Captain Jones, of the Sikh cavalry, was slightly wounded, and two troopers were killed.

The commander-in-chief arrived at Delhi, on his way to Simla, on the 22nd of March, and was received under a salute of seventeen guns. The Belooch regiment, which formed his escort thus far, marched on the 6th of April, *viâ* Sirsa, for Hyderabad (Scinde), where they were to be quartered. His lordship minutely inspected the troops, and looked well into their quarters; saw the magazine, the ruins of the Moree bastion, Cashmere gate, &c. After inspecting the troops, he addressed them, and paid a just tribute to the personal appearance and good conduct of the 2nd fusiliers. The natives, it was said, had a curious idea about the visit of the commander-in-chief. They evidently thought it was somehow or other connected with the punishment so many felt that they richly deserved; and for some days a report prevailed in the city, that the chief was to have a *morah* placed on the steps of the Jumma Musjid, and, *à la* Nadir Shah, superintend a general massacre of the native population. It was a great relief to them when they saw that the great conqueror had left Delhi as he found it, though they could hardly believe that he had been and gone without the *Salamee* due to his exalted rank. Several improvements were ordered in the city, the most important being the erection of two bastions—one at the Lahore gate of the palace, the other at the Delhi gate: each bastion to mount sixteen heavy guns; sufficient to lay the city in ruins if necessary. During Lord Clyde's stay, many of the servants of the ex-king of Delhi were released from confinement, there being no specific charge against them; and the begum, Taj Mahal, had a pension of fifty rupees a-month granted to her for her support. The discovery of some intrigue led to a report that all Mohammedans were to be sent out of the city on the 1st of April. A party of police who had got scent of some treasure buried in a Moofsid's house, thinking they had the best right to it, dug it up, and divided the proceeds. As usual, they quarrelled over the division, and the aggrieved party gave information to some of the civil officers, which led to still further discoveries of appropriated treasure. The commander-in-chief and staff left Delhi, *en route* for Simla, on the 9th of April.



## CHAPTER XX.

ERROR IN THE MILITARY CODE OF BENGAL; MATERIEL OF THE NATIVE ARMY; PREFERENCE FOR MEN OF HIGH-CASTE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; LIST OF MUTINOUS REGIMENTS; CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN ARMY; REPORT OF MILITARY COMMISSION; THE DELHI PRIZE-MONEY; MEDALS AND CLASPS FOR DELHI AND LUCKNOW; CIVILIANS ENTITLED TO HONORARY DISTINCTIONS; THE VICTORIA CROSS; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; SQUARING ACCOUNTS IN THE DELHI DIVISION; NATIVE FEROCITY; EXPLOSION AT KURRACHEE; RESTORATION OF ARMS TO THE 33RD N.I. AT JULLUNDER; COURTS-MARTIAL; RETURN OF THE VICEROY TO CALCUTTA; CONFISCATION AND COMPENSATION; THE PEARL NAVAL BRIGADE AND 1ST MADRAS FUSILIERS; THE NEW CUSTOMS TARIFF; RENewed UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; THE INDIAN PRESS; MISSIONARY GRANTS OBJECTED TO; REORGANISATION AND DECENTRALISATION; LORD CLYDE AT DELHI.

THE seventeenth chapter of the present work closed with a record of the loyal manifestations that spread over the empire of Great Britain in the East Indies, upon the assumption of direct sovereignty by Queen Victoria, over the varied races that were henceforth to owe fealty and service to her throne. The last and crowning act in India of that great corporation under whose auspices the mighty empire had been built up, until its stability became endangered by its vastness, was also referred to;\* and we have now to resume such continuous details of events in connection with the new government, as may be necessary to conclude, upon the soil of Hindostan, the history of the mutinies of 1857.

One of the earliest and most important measures of the government of the viceroy of India, was associated with the military service, by a bill introduced into the legislative council, to amend the law under which the discipline of the native regular army, consisting of men of all tribes, religions, and castes, had been carried on until the outbreak of the revolt. By the existing law (Act 19, of 1847), no non-commissioned officer or soldier could be discharged as a punishment, except by the sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief at the presidency to which he might belong; neither could any non-commissioned officer be reduced to the ranks but by sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief of the presidency; nor could any commanding officer inflict a punishment drill, or restrict to barrack limits for a period exceeding fifteen days, without the intervention of a court-martial. The effect of this restraint upon the authority of the commanding officer of a regiment, had been gradually to undermine and destroy that wholesome fear and

respect on the part of the men, which constituted the best security for their good behaviour; and, in fact, had rendered the authority which remained to enforce discipline, little more than a subject for barrack-room contempt. It was now proposed, after the dear-bought experience of the mutiny of the whole native army, to repeal such portions of the military code as so mischievously affected the discipline of the native troops; and, in order to maintain that, and to make the soldier fear, if he would not respect his officer, it was enacted by articles 2 and 3 of the proposed act, that the commanding officer of a regiment should have it in his power, without the sentence of a court-martial, to dismiss or reduce to the ranks any soldier or native officer in his corps—such dismissal involving forfeiture of pension. In cases of light offences, it was also provided that he should have power, without the intervention of a court-martial, to award such extra drill, or the performance of such other extra military duty as he might think fit, provided he did not contravene any order of the commander-in-chief by such judgment.

The discipline of the native army of India had formerly been maintained by the same safeguards and penalties as were applied for its protection in the European element of the Anglo-Indian force; and there is no doubt that the highest state of efficiency of that army, may be traced to the period when the European system, with all its faults, was applied indiscriminately to both arms of the service. The first error committed was that of tampering with the authority of the commanding officer, and consequently weakening that of every subordinate authority; and next, by the abolition of corporal punishment, which experience, up to the present day, proves is an extreme penalty possibly necessary for example, and

\* See *ante*, pp. 519; 527.

therefore, in flagrant cases of aggravated crime, perfectly and humanely justifiable. This terrible agent of repression was abolished in the native army by Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, against the advice of an immense majority of the military committee then appointed to report and give their opinions on the subject. Colonel Morrison, and sixteen military officers, decided against the abolition of flogging; while two civilian members of council, and the governor-general himself, were in its favour. It was, consequently, in defiance of military experience of its necessity, abolished; but the new system worked so badly, that, in the time of Sir Henry Hardinge (1844 to 1848), who exerted himself in improving the condition of the army, corporal punishment became again part of the military code. Most unfortunately, a short time afterwards, instructions were given from the highest authority, "never to inflict the punishment;" and thus the threat implied by its restoration, became nothing better than an idle mockery and a mischievous insult.

Owing partly to the disuse of this powerful regulation, and to the diminished authority of the European officers of the native regiments from the colonel downwards, as well as to the system by which the ranks of the army were recruited, by inducements of superior pay and pension to the private soldier, and to the suicidal desire of commanding officers to obtain men of "good caste" only for their regiments—the ranks of the Bengal army were filled by a haughty and arrogant soldiery, who were untamable by the ordinary means resorted to for maintaining discipline, and could only be kept true to their colours by the excitement of active service. Such men were not slow to find out grievances when the excitement was wanting; and having no cohesion of principle or feeling with their European officers, they fell into a state of mutiny as a thing of course, when the external relations of the state reached that point from whence a prospect of a long-continued peace was apparent.

This fact became too clearly demonstrated by the occurrences of 1857-'8 to be longer doubted; and at length it was proposed to seek, in the North-West and Upper Provinces of Bengal, a nucleus for the native element of the future Anglo-Indian army, by enlisting men of the lowest caste, or even of no caste at all, with whom, previous to the revolt, the Bengal sepoy would have disdained

to stand in the ranks, and would have considered himself contaminated by compulsory association with, as a fellow-soldier.

The actual extent of the defection of the Bengal army is shown by the following summary, from a return presented to parliament (session 1859), of "the names or numbers of each regiment and corps in India, which has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny against its lawful commanders, since the 1st of January, 1857." In this list the mutinous regiments included the following corps:—In the presidency of Bengal division—the 19th, 32nd, 34th, 63rd, and 73rd native infantry, the 11th irregular cavalry, and the 1st Assam light infantry battalions; in the Dinapore division—the 7th, 8th, 17th, 37th, and 40th native infantry, the 5th irregular cavalry, the Loodiana regiment, and the Ramghur light infantry battalions; in the Meerut division—the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th, 44th, 54th, and 67th native infantry; in the Saugor district—both wings of the 1st light cavalry, the 23rd and 31st, 50th and 52nd native infantry, the 42nd light infantry, and the 3rd irregular cavalry; in the Sirhind division—the 6th light cavalry, the 3rd, 5th, 33rd, 36th, 60th, and 61st native infantry, the Hurreana light infantry battalion, and the 4th irregular cavalry; in the Lahore division—the 8th, 9th, and 10th light cavalry, and the 46th, 16th, 26th, 45th, 49th, 57th, and 69th native infantry; in the Peshawur division—the 5th light cavalry, the 14th, 24th, 27th, 39th, 51st, 55th, 58th, 64th native infantry, and the 9th and 10th irregular cavalry; at Nusseerabad—the 2nd company 7th battalion of artillery, the 15th and 30th native infantry; and at Neemuch, the 72nd native infantry. In the Benares district, the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh is specially stigmatised. The 37th regiment is also included in the return from this district. Other mutinous regiments were the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th native infantry, No. 8 company of the 44th native infantry, the 50th, 67th, 3rd, 33rd, 61st, and 36th native infantry, the 4th Bengal irregular cavalry, the 8th light cavalry, the 16th native infantry grenadiers, the 5th and 9th light cavalry; and other regiments of native infantry.—The return relative to the Bombay army, states that the mutinous regiments of that presidency were the 3rd and 5th



companies 4th battalion artillery (Golundauze), the 2nd regiment light cavalry, the 2nd regiment native infantry grenadiers, a detachment of the 12th native infantry, and the 21st and 27th native infantry. The Guzerat irregular horse also mutinied, but the rising was speedily suppressed.

This return enumerates eighty-six regiments as having thrown off their allegiance to the government of India; but other regiments also, whose numbers are not included, were affected by the mutiny.

Upon the important subject of the reorganisation of an army for the protection of British India, it was observed, that while there were but few persons in the country who held the extreme opinion that a native army should be dispensed with altogether, there were undoubtedly many who, recalling the events of the preceding eighteen months, might question the propriety of ever placing the rifle in the hands of the sepoy, or of longer maintaining the establishment of the Golundauze, or native artillery. Gunpowder, it was remarked, was a great leveller; and its discovery did more to destroy the feudal system and the powers of the privileged classes in Europe, than any other event of the period. The superiority of their arms had made the chivalry of Christendom despise the burgomaster and the villain; but gunpowder placed the knight and the peasant upon an equality in the field. Had the revolted army of Bengal held the Minié rifle in their hands, Delhi might still have belonged to the Mogul; and, in place of a wretched charpoy in a prison-chamber, the descendant of Timur might even now have been sitting upon the crystal throne in the palace of his ancestors. It is impossible to say where the revolt would have stopped had the sepoy been armed with the rifle; and the proposal to place this weapon in the hands of a new levy of 80,000 Sikhs, embodied by Sir John Lawrence for service in the Punjab, was looked upon as bordering upon an insane temerity. The necessity for maintaining a native army to some extent in the country, was admitted; but an adherence to a few leading cautionary principles in its reorganisation, was also insisted upon, which, while they might render it efficient for all purposes for which it could be required, would free the state from any danger through its existence. First, it was suggested that the artillery arm of the service should be exclusively European—a

measurc perfectly unobjectionable in itself, and one that would tear up by the roots the chief source of danger in revolutionary times; since, in following out this principle, every arsenal in the country would necessarily be garrisoned by European soldiers: and without artillery, and destitute of military stores, the finest army the world could produce would be at the mercy of one-tenth part of its number. The whole of the existing arsenals throughout India, it was alleged, could be garrisoned effectually by 15,000 Europeans, who should be all trained artillerymen; and of the 100,000 men proposed to form the future European force, at least 35,000 ought to belong to this arm of the service.

The next important principle to be attended to in the reconstruction of the army, was expressed by the single word DISCIPLINE. A great authority has long since affirmed that mutiny is impossible in any army which is effectively disciplined; and it would be presumptuous to question the dictum: but it is a notorious fact, that this truism was lamentably disregarded in the management of the native army of Bengal. It now became an imperative necessity, therefore, that whatever might be the numerical strength of the future native levies, they should be disciplined with the same sternness and inflexibility that prevails in the English army; and that the difference between drill and discipline should be better understood, and acted upon, by those to whom the efficiency and control of the men was entrusted. The mutiny of the Bengal army was mainly attributable to the indulgence of a tone of insolent insubordination, which had been tolerated in its ranks for years; and that fact ought necessarily to be borne in mind when contemplating its reconstruction. Instant, unreasoning obedience, or death, is the only alternative presented to the soldier's mind in every well-disciplined army; and how strong its instinctive perception should be made with mercenary troops, common sense might easily understand. In India, it was now evident, such a principle could not be maintained without entrusting all but despotic power to the commanding officer; and that such power might be delegated without fear of its abuse, it was necessary that each officer should be selected carefully, and judged strictly. In this respect there ought to be no excuse for failure.

A third point was urged as a guiding principle of importance—namely, the indiscriminate enlistment of all castes in the ranks. The raising of 80,000 Sikhs in the Punjab by Sir John Lawrence, was looked upon by many as a standing menace to the future stability of the empire, as they were no sooner collected together, than they had to be watched; a regiment of Sikhs being, in its way, as much influenced by caste as a regiment of Poorbeahs; while, from its natural and characteristic superiority, it is considerably more dangerous. The experiment had succeeded for the time; but it was followed by much anxiety, and some degree of embarrassment. Such levies, it was held, must be broken up, or, if retained, so mingled with the general native army, as to lose their individuality. So long as they remained exclusively Sikh or Bengalese battalions, so long they were dangerous to the state in their isolation.

It was also recommended, with respect to the weapons of the native troops, that they should be armed with the old musket only, and that upon no account should the rifle be entrusted to them, until the distinctions of caste had been rendered thoroughly and practically subservient to the paramount requirements of discipline.

A commission was at length appointed by royal warrant, to consider the entire subject of the reconstruction and management of the Indian army, which had now become a question of importance in connection with the Eastern possessions of the British empire; and the result of the inquiry was, after some time, presented to parliament in a report, of which the following is a brief analysis:—

With reference to the first point suggested in her majesty's warrant, viz., "The terms on which the army of the East India Company is to be transferred to the crown," the commissioners observed, that the 56th clause of the act for the better government of India, assures to the forces which now belong to her majesty's Indian army, "the like pay, pension, allowances, and privileges, and like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company."

The second question—viz., the "permanent force necessary to be maintained in the Indian provinces respectively, after the restoration of tranquillity," did not appear to the commissioners to admit of a reply in a definite numerical form, as the amount of

force must depend on the probability of either internal disturbances or external aggression; and they observe—"The estimates of force given in the evidence are most conflicting, ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 Europeans; and there can be no doubt that it will be necessary to maintain, for the future defence of India, a European force of much greater strength than that which existed previous to the outbreak of 1857." The amount of such force should, in the opinion of the commissioners, be about 80,000; of which 50,000 would be required for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras, and 15,000 for Bombay.

As regarded the third question—the proportion "which European should bear to native corps in cavalry, infantry, and artillery respectively," the commissioners were of opinion that the amount of native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European in cavalry and infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively; the evidence before the commissioners being unanimous that the artillery should be mainly a European force: and they agreed in the opinion thus expressed, exceptions being made for such stations as were peculiarly detrimental to the European constitution. In connection with this question, the commissioners observe, that "military police corps have been formed, or are in course of formation, throughout India. They see in this force, in its numerical strength and military organisation, differing as it does in no essential respect from the regular sepoy army, the elements of future danger. They therefore recommend that great caution be used in not giving to this force a stricter military training than may be required for the maintenance of discipline, lest a new native force be formed, which may hereafter become a source of embarrassment to the government."

On the fourth question—as to "how far the European portion of the army should be composed of troops of the line, taking India as part of the regular tour of service, and how far of troops raised for service in India only?" the commissioners were unable to arrive at any unanimity of opinion.

On the fifth question—"The best means of providing for the periodical relief of the former portion, and securing the efficiency of the latter," the commissioners observe,



that "if it be determined that the European force be partly of the line and partly local, the periodical relief of the former portion may be effected as has hitherto been done; but they strongly recommend that the tour of service in India should not exceed twelve years. The establishment of a convalescent station at the Cape of Good Hope, for the invalids belonging to European regiments serving in India, is worthy of consideration."

With reference to the sixth question—"Whether it be possible to consolidate the European forces, so as to allow of exchange from one branch of the service to the other; and what regulations would be necessary and practicable to effect this object with perfect justice to the claims of all officers now in the service of the East India Company?" the commissioners were of opinion that, although there are many difficulties in so amalgamating the local European forces with those of the line, such an arrangement would be advantageous, if it could be effected without prejudice to existing rights.

On the seventh question—viz., "Whether there should be any admixture of European and native forces, either regimentally or by brigade?" the preponderance of evidence showed, that any admixture of the two forces, regimentally, would be detrimental to the efficiency and discipline of both; but that the admixture, by brigade, would be most advantageous; and the commissioners concurred in this opinion.

On the eighth point—"Whether the local European force should be kept up by drafts and volunteers from the line, or should be, as at present, separately recruited for in Great Britain?" the commissioners were of opinion that the European force, if local, might be partially kept up by volunteers from regiments of the line returning to England; and that the recruiting in England should be carried on under the same authority and regulations as for regiments of the line, officers of the local force being employed on that service.

As regarded the ninth question, the commissioners considered that it would not be advisable to raise any regiments in the colonies, composed of men of colour, either for temporary or permanent service in India.

With regard to the tenth point—"Whether the native force should be regular or irregular, or both; and if so, in what proportions?" the commissioners were of

opinion that the irregular system was the best adapted for native cavalry in India; and recommended that it be adopted.

The commissioners were of opinion, with regard to the point—"Whether cadets, sent out for service with native troops, should in the first instance be attached to European regiments, to secure uniformity of drill and discipline?" that such officers should be thoroughly drilled, and instructed in their military duties in this country, as recommended in the reply to question 5, before they are sent to India.

The commissioners having disposed of the questions specially referred for their inquiry, submitted the following recommendations on certain important points which, in the course of examination of evidence, came under their notice:—1. That the native army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and, as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment. 2. That all men in the regular native army, in her majesty's eastern possessions, should be enlisted for general service. 3. That a modification should be made in the uniform of the native troops, assimilating it more to the dress of the country, and making it more suitable to the climate. 4. That Europeans should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branches of the service, but that corps of pioneers be formed, for the purpose of relieving the European sappers from those duties which entail exposure to the climate. 5. That the articles of war which govern the native army be revised, and that the power of commanding officers be increased. 6. That the promotion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers be regulated on the principle of efficiency, rather than of seniority, and that commanding officers of regiments have the same power to promote non-commissioned officers as is vested in officers commanding regiments of the line. 7. That whereas the pay and allowances of officers and men are now issued under various heads, the attention of her majesty's government be drawn to the expediency of simplifying the pay codes, and of adopting, if practicable, fixed scales of allowances for the troops in garrison or cantonments, and in the field. 8. That the commander-in-chief in Bengal be styled "the commander-in-chief in India," and that the general officers commanding the armies of the minor presidencies be commanders of the forces, with the power and advantages

which they have hitherto enjoyed. 9. The commissioners observed, that the efficiency of the Indian army had hitherto been injuriously affected by the small number of officers usually doing duty with the regiments to which they belong; which evil had arisen from the number withdrawn for staff and other duties, and civil employment. All the evidence before the commissioners pointed out the necessity of improving the position of officers serving regimentally. For the attainment of this object, and for the remedy of the evil complained of, various schemes have been suggested, viz.—1. The formation of a staff corps. 2. The system of “seconding” officers who are on detached employ, which exists to a certain extent in the line army. 3. Placing the European officers of each presidency on general lists of promotion.

The commissioners not being prepared to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on this point, without further reference to India, recommended that the subject should be submitted, without delay, for the report of the governors and commanders-in-chief at the several presidencies, with a view to the framing of regulations which might ensure the greater efficiency of regiments.

While referring to military affairs, it may be noticed, that the sum available as prize-money for Delhi, amounted to about twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000, which, it was decided, should be borrowed by the government of India, and bear interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, the whole or any part to be reclaimable after three months’ notice, given either by government or by the prize-agent. It was also notified by the governor-general, that the Queen had been pleased to command that a medal should be granted to the troops in her majesty’s service, and in that of the deposed Company, who had been, or should be, employed in the suppression of the mutiny; with clasps to those engaged in the capture of Delhi, and in the defence and relief of Lucknow: and further, that all civilians, whether or not in her majesty’s service, who had been actively engaged in the field, or otherwise before the enemy during the recent operations, should participate in the same honorary distinctions.

It was further announced, by a govern-

ment notification, that her majesty had been pleased to determine that non-military persons who, during the progress of the operations in India, had borne arms as volunteers against the mutineers, and had performed deeds of gallantry, should be considered eligible to receive the high distinction of the Victoria Cross, under the same rules and regulations as were applicable to officers and men of her majesty’s army and navy, and Indian army and navy, upon the fact being established in each case that the person was serving for the time being under the orders of a general or other officer in command of troops in the field; the latter condition invidiously shutting out all isolated cases of individual bravery, such as those of Boyle and Wake at Arrah, and Venables at Azimgurh; whose valour, and services rendered to the state, were second to none recorded in the history of the revolt.

As descriptive of the progressive advance to order in one portion at least of the vast territory that had been shaken to its centre by rebel force, the following statement, from the *Mofussilite*, will be read with interest:—“The Delhi division, which last year (1857) was the focus of rebellion, has, under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, been reduced, in the short space of six months, to perfect order; affording a marked contrast to the proceedings of government in every other division of the empire—Lucknow, perhaps, only excepted. Sir John Lawrence, from the first, had opposed all projects for the destruction of Delhi as childish and impolitic;\* but he had no intention of allowing the citizens to escape the just punishment of crime. One of the first acts of his administration, therefore, was to establish a system of penal fines. No property was confiscated, except after trial by the commission, and proof of active assistance in the rebellion; but all the Mussulman inhabitants who had heartily assisted the mutineers, and submitted willingly to the king, were subjected to a property-tax for one year, of twenty-five per cent. The Hindoos who, while less hostile, had still failed in their duty as subjects, were assessed ten per cent.; the whole being payable within the year, under penalty of Act 10, of 1858—the Norman and Saxon law.†

his proceedings at Delhi, in the 131st, 132nd, and 133rd paragraphs, which are as follows:—

“For some time the city of Delhi was placed

\* See vol. i., p. 526.

† In Sir John Lawrence’s report of his administration of the Punjab, special reference is made to



"The money was paid; and the citizens, as sensitive to taxation as Italians, will not speedily forget the lesson of rebellion. The next step was to compel the inhabitants of the division, generally, to repair the losses of the sufferers. Every community was compelled to pay up instantly the amount of the damage done. If the loss were public, the buildings were restored at the expense of the surrounding villages: if private, they paid the ascertained amount, which was at once handed over to the sufferers. A strict debtor and creditor account was kept; and as the fines were irrespective of any punishment incurred by the rebellion, the balance was decidedly on the side of order. There is, perhaps, no argument more readily comprehensible by a native: execution is nothing—he can risk that; but to be deprived inexorably of his plunder, of the very reward for which he steeped himself to the lips in crime, is bitterness indeed.

"The same principle has been carried out in the Gogaira. The tribes inhabiting that region rose in September, 1857; the revolt was trodden down, but not till infinite mischief had been accomplished. The rebels, even when defeated, exulted in their gains; but they did not comprehend the man with whom they had to deal. A commission quietly examined all claims sent in by the sufferers, and then ordered under a military governor, but by the commencement of 1858, the civil authorities resumed their functions. As might have been expected, the number of persons who suffered death for crimes connected with the rebellion was very considerable. It is difficult to analyse all that may have been done during that period of excitement. Towards the end of February, 1858, however, when the chief commissioner visited Delhi, he found that 1,400 political prisoners were awaiting trial. He immediately organised a judicial commission, composed of three officers, two civil and one military, and invested them with the requisite powers (including those of life and death) to dispose of these cases. By May, 1858, no less than 851 persons were disposed of by this commission, of whom 41 were punished capitally, 173 imprisoned, 104 flogged and fined, 533 released on security or unconditionally. But as fresh arrests have been made from time to time, there were still 200 and upwards to be tried, and the commission is still sitting. Commissions of two officers each were appointed for the other districts also, but their work has been less onerous.

"As regards the city itself, one European regiment is accommodated in the palace of the Moguls, and one in the government college; the Sikh corps in the great mosque; the European artillery in the Arabic college. The great magazine is of course held by Europeans. The treasury is within the citadel palace. The most important gates of the city are guarded by Europeans. The city walls and fosse are standing. The church is restored for

compensation. The expenses incurred, it was found were—

	Rupees.	
Plundered property . . .	5,22,104	3 6
Expense of sales . . .	3,616	4 1
Money given back to punished rebels	10,919	2 4
Extra police in Gogaira . . .	7,403	11 3
" Mooltan . . .	1,922	15 5
Damage to public property . . .	850	8 0
To salt-mine stores . . .	495	14 0
Damage in Jung . . .	597	12 8
Cost of fortifying buildings in Gogaira	2,825	11 0
Ditto in Mooltan . . .	1,071	2 3
Total . . .	5,51,807	4 6

"That is all to the rebels' credit; but there is a small per contra:—

	Rupees.	
Property recovered and restored . . .	1,18,643	12 9
Compensation in cash . . .	1,35,114	0 6
Compensation in property . . .	1,57,969	6 6
Realised by fines, &c. . .	78,194	13 8
Balance of fines (coming in) . . .	30,325	0 0
Property sold at Mooltan . . .	11,019	1 9
Jung . . .	18,997	1 11
Total . . .	5,50,263	4 6

"Balance, to be realised from rebels, 1,544 rupees; which little sum will be realised without fail. Moreover, the people of Gogaira, when they have leisure to reflect on the rebellion, will find, that not only did they gain nothing, but their leaders had a somewhat heavy account. It is true only thirty were hung; but twenty-seven more were transported for life, eighty-five divine worship. The houses of the city have not materially suffered. For some time after the recapture, it was deserted of its inhabitants like a city of the dead. At first the Hindoo inhabitants were gradually and cautiously re-admitted; and in March last, the privilege was extended to Mohammedans also. The Delhi townspeople have in some measure suffered the punishment which their rebellion deserved. The mass of them have lost nearly all their movable property; they had to endure hunger, exposure, and every privation throughout the winter. They are now permitted to return, and the city is being gradually re-peopled. The population may now amount to one-fourth of its former numbers. Many houses of rebels have been confiscated. On all other houses it is proposed to levy a cess. With the proceeds of those confiscations, cesses, and fines, it is proposed to establish a fund for the compensation of the Christian sufferers by the mutiny and outbreak at Delhi. Outside the city the extensive suburbs of native mansions and gardens, and the old British cantonment, are in ruins, and will probably remain so.

"In January, 1858, a general disarming of the people was ordered to be carried out after the same manner as in the Punjab. By April, some 225,000 stand of arms of all kinds were delivered up to the police; and besides these, there were taken at Delhi forty cart-loads of arms, which were not enumerated. There can be but few arms now remaining in the Delhi territory." [For these, a rigid and persevering search continued to be made].

imprisoned for fourteen years, twenty-two for seven years, thirty-nine for short periods, and 122 were flogged, fined, and dismissed. Gogaira is again at peace, and will remain so; for this generation will scarcely forget how Sir John Lawrence squares his accounts."

An instance of the ferocious hatred that was cherished by some of the native population of India towards anything European, is afforded by the following extract of a letter, dated from Nassick, near the city of Bombay, September 24th. The writer says—"On the 21st instant the following scene was enacted amongst us, in broad daylight, and in one of the principal streets of the town. Privates J. and G. Cameron and Chisholm, 92nd highlanders, at present quartered here, walking quietly through the town, met a fair little English child in the arms of its nurse. The soldiers, glad to see a white face, stopped and spoke to it, little knowing that by so doing they would, under Providence, be the saviours of its life. They had passed on their way but a few yards, when, hearing a noise behind them, they turned and saw the child and nurse in the hands of a desperate fanatic, who, having seized the child by the neck, was using his best endeavours to strangle it: the natives about, instead of rendering assistance to the nurse in rescuing the child, had all fled. It was but the work of a moment for the soldiers to rush to the rescue, strike the would-be cowardly assassin to the ground, and snatch the poor little thing from his felon grasp. I am happy to say the wretch was so handled by the highlanders, that he is still in hospital, and not unlikely to continue there. He is a well-known character in the place, and was very lately discharged from the Poonah hospital, cured of a malady that renders him sacred in the eyes of the miserable natives, but a dangerous pest to all others."

A tremendous explosion occurred at the arsenal at Kurrachee on the 21st of October, by which the greater part of the buildings were destroyed, and every house in the town shaken to its foundation. The affair, which at any other time would have produced a panic, and been attributed to design, appears to have been perfectly accidental, through a rocket exploding when being driven, the flame of which reached some uncovered ammunition boxes. The whole of the ball ammunition, amounting

to upwards of a million rounds, was blown up with the portfires and fuzes; but the magazine and a portion of the arsenal were preserved. The left front of the latter was, however, a mass of ruins, the fire being confined to that part of the building. So powerful was the explosion, that the *débris* was scattered several hundred yards from the arsenal, and into the centre of the bazaar. The body of one man was thrown above forty yards from the building; but the list of human casualties extended only to two killed and five wounded.

Amidst all the crash and wreck of the native army of Bengal, the bulk of the 33rd regiment of infantry stood firm in its allegiance, notwithstanding the defection of two of its companies, and that, for precautionary motives, it had been subsequently deprived of its arms. The time had now arrived when it became possible to evince the approval of the government of its loyal and soldier-like conduct, by restoring to the men the arms of which they had been deprived. This gratifying incident took place at Jullunder, on the 17th of January, 1859, when the following characteristic address was delivered to the regiment, in the presence of a brilliant staff, by Major Lake, upon whom the pleasing duty had devolved:—

"Native officers and sepoy of the 33rd regiment,—On the part of Brigadier Milman, I congratulate you and your colonel that the day has come in which the government has recognised your fidelity and devotion. When General Nicholson took away your arms, he promised you that they should be restored if you behaved well. Knowing all that has happened since that day, I can testify that in every respect you have proved true. I therefore rejoice that the day has come in which General Nicholson's promise has been fulfilled. A soldier without arms is like a scabbard without a sword: this reproach is now removed; and, as medals are given to soldiers in token of their bravery, so the restoration of arms will be to you a mark of your fidelity—a proof that you remained loyal when so many others proved traitors. The brigadier, myself, and all of us, have full confidence that the bravery displayed by the 33rd regiment at Bhurtpore, in Cabool, at Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, will always be shown against all traitors and all enemies of her majesty Queen Victoria, and her government. Officers and men of the 33rd, resume your arms, which



I am proud to declare you have never disgraced."

The positive necessity which arose for prompt and decisive action in every department of the government, through the events of the rebellion (which, at times, crowded upon each other with uncontrollable rapidity), had, as the war progressed, and particularly towards the close of operations in the field, been productive of results not strictly accordant with the gravity and decorum of justice, which, although perhaps not really prejudiced by the measures resorted to, was still open to question, when the life or liberty of an individual depended upon the calm investigation and deliberate judgment of a court upon his peculiar case. It had frequently happened, that in disposing of prisoners before courts-martial, persons accused of mutiny and murder, and lesser crimes connected with the outbreak, were arraigned before the courts in batches, and subjected to a general and indiscriminating sentence. This evil at length attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, who—with a laudable desire to restore to the functions of the military tribunals the reputation for strict, although prompt, justice, which was their peculiar characteristic—on the 15th of January, 1859, issued the following notification for the future guidance of his officers:—

"The commander-in-chief having had before him for review the proceedings of several general courts-martial, held under the Act No. 8, of 1857, before which large bodies of prisoners were brought for trial at one and the same time, his excellency considers it expedient to offer a few remarks upon the subject, for the particular consideration of officers authorised to hold such courts. In Lord Clyde's opinion, the measure above adverted to, is not one well calculated to secure the deliberate administration of justice, or to lead to that dispassionate inquiry into each prisoner's case, which, however culpable he may have been, he is entitled to expect when placed upon his trial before a military tribunal. His lordship does not, however, consider it advisable to issue any definitive instructions that would limit the number of prisoners to be ordinarily tried together under Act No. 8, of 1857, as the effect of such a course might be to inconveniently interfere with the discretion which should remain in the hands of officers who find it necessary to convene courts-martial under that act;

but he would earnestly impress upon all officers empowered to carry out the intentions of the legislature, the necessity that exists of carefully considering the ends of justice on all occasions of trial, and the right of the accused to a fair and unimpeachable mode of procedure. This, as a general rule, may be best accomplished by not arraigning the prisoners in large bodies when there is time, and when opportunity offers, to divide and try them in small numbers; and it is only in case of great emergency, when the interests of the state would suffer by delay, that this rule should be departed from."

On the 24th of January, the government gazette contained the following announcement:—

"Fort William, Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1859.

"With reference to the proclamation of the 30th of January, 1858,\* it is hereby notified, for general information, that his excellency the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, viceroy and governor-general of India, having returned to the presidency, has this day resumed the seat of president of the council of the governor-general of India."

The question of confiscation was brought before the supreme council at the end of January, by the authorities of the North-Western Provinces, who submitted to government lists of the estates confiscated before the amnesty, requesting it to determine whether it would in such cases confirm the sentence, or waive the right which it conferred upon the state in favour of the offenders, as an act of grace. After classifying the various degrees of guilt into five heads, the decision of the government was as follows:—Class 1.—In cases of mutiny and desertion, the confiscation to hold good. Class 2.—Murder and plunder, accompanied with murder of British subjects. That whenever the persons murdered were not of European blood, a reconsideration of the cases will be admitted. Class 3.—Local rebellion, unconnected with the great political centres of disaffection. The list to be carefully revised by the magistrate, who must submit a recommendation for mercy whenever there may be a reason for doing so. Class 4.—Complicity in the general rebellion. The confiscation to hold good. Class 5.—Cases in which revision is regarded by

\* The document referred to, merely notified his lordship's removal to Allahabad, and the appointment of a president of the council during his absence. See *ante*, p. 406.

the board as necessary; that the sentence of confiscation should be remitted in all these cases, except when the magistrates see a sufficient objection to the remission, which should be explained in detail.

The subject of compensation to those who had sustained heavy losses by the rebellion, in many cases extending to the entire amount of their property, was neither so quickly or so satisfactorily disposed of by the government. On the 1st of May, 1858, the government of India, after a delay of ten months (excused by the state of the country), ordered an inquiry into the extent and character of claims for compensation. The information—which embraced losses to the Christian subjects of her majesty, computed at one million and a-half sterling, besides a probable equal amount sustained by loyal Hindoos and Mohammedans—was collected from all accessible quarters, and reported to the proper authorities; and there the affair rested. Some six months after this, the sufferers considered, that though prepared to endure the inevitable delay of official routine, they would like to learn something of the progress that had been made towards a result; and therefore, on the 6th of January, the secretary of the compensation committee was directed to inquire of the secretary to the government, at what stage the consideration of the claims had arrived, and whether the result of that consideration might be communicated to the parties deeply interested in it. To this application the following reply was forwarded:—

“Fort William, Jan. 19th, 1859.

“Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general to inform you, that the investigations of claims for losses resulting from the late disturbances, have been finished in the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Oude, Central India, and Rajpootana; and that reports, for the most part complete, have been submitted to this government. The investigation in Bengal, it is believed, is also finished. A copy of the instructions under which these investigations have been conducted, is inclosed.

“His lordship, I am to observe, does not consider it necessary, in the present state of the case, to communicate to the compensation committee a statement of results, either individually or collectively.

“As regards an opportunity being given to claimants of supporting their claims, I am to state, that no reply can be returned

until a decision on the main question is taken by the right honourable the secretary of state for India.

“I am desired to add, that a general report will be sent to her majesty’s government, as soon as the local reports are quite complete.—G. R. SIMSON,

“Under-Secretary, &c., &c.”

Here, again, the affair rested; and the treatment to which the loyal sufferers by the mutinous and rebellious outrages were subjected by official indifference, was unfavourably contrasted with the consideration shown to the rebels and plunderers by the act of amnesty. It was felt by the sufferers, that the state, in entirely forgiving its enemies, had closed the door of redress against its friends. The claims for compensation upon actual losses, amounted, as computed, to nearly three millions—wrested from the loyal subjects of her majesty, for their fidelity during a crisis of anarchy and ruin, and which they had, morally at least, a clear right to be reimbursed. The government, it was alleged, was without the power of repaying such a sum from the ordinary resources of the state; but the perpetrators or promoters of the wanton destruction that had created these claims, were still in existence; and it was on them, as precedent to the amnesty, that the government should have imposed the *onus* of making good the losses sustained by their act, or encouraged by their sanction—a purpose which might at once have been effected, had a levy been made upon the populations of the whole of the affected districts, of a fine sufficiently serious to cover the amount of the claims for compensation. It was considered that the local government ought not to have wasted time, or shifted its responsibility, by referring to the home government a question it was competent itself to decide upon the spot, and that it ought to have imposed fines upon all the great *foci* of the rebellion; which, with the sums arising from the sale of forfeited lands and the forfeited pensions, would have been sufficient to satisfy the claims of the sufferers.

The magnitude of the sum required to cover the losses sustained, however embarrassing it might be to the government whose want of foresight had permitted them, was now only capable of liquidation by one of two ways. Either the imperial government must grant the sum required from the crippled revenue of the country, or it must be raised by adopting the principle acted



upon in the Delhi and Gogra divisions by Sir John Lawrence, and imposing a fine upon the offending districts, and the cities and towns most prominent in rebellious outrages, such as Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bareilly, &c. It was suggested, that the fines imposed upon the cities should be paid at once; the other portion, levied upon the districts, being collected within a given period, as an extra assessment. To this it was objected, that the offences of the inhabitants of these places had since been condoned by the amnesty, and that it would be contrary to good faith to retract the full and free pardon of the sovereign, already offered, and generally accepted. This objection, however, left the question of injustice as it stood; and if it was necessarily to exist at all, it was felt that those who had been in arms, aiding and abetting, if not actually perpetrating, the injuries complained of, were the parties to sustain it, rather than those who had suffered by their conduct. Besides, although the government, by the amnesty, had waived the offence against itself, it had no power or right to waive the wrong against individuals. The public question was over; the private one remained to be settled; and the mussids and budmashes, and their abettors, who had had their revelry, their incendiary fires, their religious war, and puppet king, ought to be made to pay for their amusements. It was quaintly observed—"It will not do to issue tickets for such entertainments at such a low price as to make them popular. Bengal has had its holiday, and has now to settle the bill; and we must take care that the settling of the account shall be remembered for many a year to come."

The subject was one of deep interest to those whose property had been swept away by the ravages of the insurrection; and the indifference with which their applications were treated, added much to the sense of injury already sustained, which was not at all mitigated by the haughty refusal to communicate the results of the government proceedings, "either individually or collectively."

Wearied at last by the tardiness of official movement, and the supercilious *hauteur* of official dignity, the sufferers by the revolt embodied their grievances and their claims in an appeal to the British parliament. The petition to the Lords was entrusted to the Earl of Ellenborough; that

to the Commons being placed in the hands of Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield. The dissolution of parliament by Lord Derby, on the 23rd of April, 1859, prevented its attention being called to the subject; and the question of compensation remained open for some session of a new parliament.

The suppression of the revolt was by this time looked upon as a fact accomplished, and the movement of troops from the disturbed provinces to permanent quarters, or *en route* to the presidencies from which they had been collected, commenced from all points. The following farewell order by the commander-in-chief, indicated the regiments first moved from the lately disturbed provinces:—

"GENERAL ORDER.—February 25th, 1859.—The following regiments being under orders to return to England, and the Madras fusiliers to their own presidency, the commander-in-chief bids them a hearty farewell:—9th (Queen's royal) lancers, 14th light dragoons, 2nd battalion military train, the naval brigade H.M.'s ship *Pearl*, 10th regiment of foot, 29th, 32nd, 61st, 78th, 84th, 86th, and 1st Madras fusiliers.

"It has seldom happened that any regiments have been more distinguished than has been the case with all these corps, during the years they have passed in India.

"1. The 9th lancers began their fine career with the Gwalior campaign, including the battle of Punniar, after which they participated in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, with the battles of Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. In 1857 and 1858, they were most prominent at the siege of Delhi—having served and driven guns, in addition to their other duties, during that trying time—at the relief of Lucknow, the battle of Cawnpore, the siege of Lucknow, the campaign of Rohilcund, and the campaign of Oude, ending in the reduction of the province.

"2. The 14th light dragoons bore a part in the Punjab campaign, including the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat; they were present in the Persian expedition under Sir James Outram; and having been incessantly and most admirably engaged in Central India, till very lately, since the Bombay division first took the field in the autumn of 1847; including more particularly the siege of Jhansie, the actions of the Betwa and Golowlie, and the relief of Gwalior. Their squadrons and troops have also been engaged in very many minor affairs, in which much honour has been won.

"3. The 10th foot were greatly distinguished at the battle of Sobraon, at the siege of Mooltan, and the battle of Goojerat. During 1857 they were employed at Benares and in Behar; and in 1858 they assisted at the siege of Lucknow—having since been frequently engaged in the Azimgurh and Shahabad campaigns.

"4. The 29th foot gained much honour in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, including the battles of Ferozeshah, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat.

"5. The 32nd light infantry, as is well known, formed the chief part of the illustrious garrison of Lucknow, under the late Sir Henry Lawrence and

Sir John Inglis; their previous career in India having embraced the siege of Mooltan, the battle of Goojerat, and the operations in the Peshawur Valley. Subsequent to the relief of the Lucknow garrison, the 32nd were at the battle of Cawnpore; and in the autumn of 1858 were engaged in the reduction of the province of Oude.

"6. The 61st foot won great reputation for themselves at Chillianwallah by their extraordinary steadiness at a moment of very great peril. That reputation was well maintained afterwards at the battle of Goojerat, and again at the siege of Delhi.

"7. The 78th foot were in Persia under Sir James Outram: without landing at Bombay, they came round to Calcutta, and were among the first, under the late Sir Henry Havelock, to restore confidence in British arms after the outbreak of the mutiny. Present at the various actions under that lamented officer, and at the first entry into Lucknow for the reinforcement of the original garrison, they completed their service by the siege of Lucknow and the campaign of Rohilcund.

"8. The 84th foot and Madras fusiliers were both sent round from the presidency of Madras when the first note of danger was sounded in 1857. Like their comrades of the 78th, they participated in all the actions of that eventful period. They both took part in the siege of Lucknow—the Madras fusiliers pursuing a campaign in Oude during the subsequent summer; while the 84th foot performed the like arduous duty amid the swamps and jungles of Behar.

"9. The 86th have been engaged in Central India under Sir Hugh Rose, having borne a most prominent part in all the principal actions commanded by that officer; viz., the siege of Jhansie, the battle of the Betwa, the action of Golowlie, the capture of Calpee, and the relief of Gwalior, together with numerous smaller affairs.

"10. Such is a very slender sketch of the services performed by the above corps. The limits of a general order render it impossible to do more than allude to the principal actions in which they have been engaged. But it will be a satisfaction to all these regiments to recollect hereafter how well they have deserved of their Queen and country; and that in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, they have well maintained the reputation which was committed to their charge by those who went before them.

"11. Let the army well reflect on the meaning of a regimental reputation. In it is contained not only the reputation of every man at present in a corps, but also the reputation of those who lived in it in former days; while the future fortunes of a regiment may to a great extent be influenced by it.

"12. Feeling this very strongly, the commander-in-chief considers he can pay no higher or heartier compliment to the regiments of which he is now taking leave, than to assure them, in all sincerity, that they have on all occasions during their Indian career, proved themselves worthy of the reputation won in former days by men wearing the same numbers and badges as themselves.

"13. It remains for the commander-in-chief to notice, with feelings of admiration, the exploits of the military train, and of the naval brigade of the *Pearl*.

"14. The former was converted into a cavalry corps in the midst of war, and learnt to act as cavalry soldiers before the enemy. Their duty has

always been done well, and included the relief of Lucknow, various affairs under Sir James Outram, siege of Lucknow, and the campaigns in Azimgurh and Shahabad. The battalion of the military train, now returning to England, will be warmly welcomed by the new corps, of which it may be said to have begun the active career before an enemy.

"15. The naval brigade of the *Pearl*, which for a long time formed the principal European force in Goruckpore district, has been engaged in numerous actions, in all of which the steady gallantry of the officers and men under Captain Sotheby, C.B., rendered a great and enduring service to the state. They have shown themselves in every respect to be worthy comrades of the famous crew of the *Shannon*, which won such renown before Lucknow, under the late gallant and lamented Sir William Peel."

The various troops mentioned in the above general order, shortly afterwards proceeded on their respective routes, receiving, on their way, gratifying testimonials of the admiration to which their valour and endurance had eminently entitled them. A description of the reception given to the naval brigade and to the 1st Madras fusiliers (formerly commanded by the illustrious Neill), may suffice as a specimen of the feeling generally manifested towards the whole force.

The officers and men of the *Pearl* naval brigade, 205 in number, arrived at Calcutta from their glorious campaign on the 2nd of February, and, like their mates of the *Shannon*, were received with much enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, on the 16th, entertained them at a public dinner in the town-hall. The following is a brief sketch of the military career of this band of naval heroes. Just one year and five months previous they had left their frigate (the *Pearl*) to proceed to the North-West, proceeding by steamer to Buxar, where they remained for a short time guarding the fort there; thence they proceeded to Chuprah and Sewan. At Gai Ghât they built a bridge of boats, over which the Ghoorka force from Nepaul advanced to the aid of the British troops. Subsequently the brigade moved to Almorah, where, on the 5th of March, from 16,000 to 18,000 of the rebels attacked the encampment, in which, besides the *Pearl's* brigade, there were but 80 of the Bengal yeomanry cavalry, and 800 Ghoorkas. In the ranks of the enemy were 3,500 disciplined sepoys, and they had with them ten guns. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force, the Europeans not only gallantly defended themselves, but assumed the offensive, capturing eight of the rebels'



guns, and pursuing the enemy to their intrenched camp at Rewah, a distance of ten miles. After this encounter, the enemy again took courage, and attacked the British camp about half-a-dozen times, in bodies of from 3,000 to 5,000 men, but on each occasion were repulsed. The *Pearl's* brigade encountered the enemy about twenty times altogether, the first engagement being at Sonapore, in the Goruckpore district, and the last at Tool-seypore; but numerous as were its engagements during the campaign, it lost but one man, killed in battle—namely, Second-master Fowler, who fell at Almorah; although, in the course of the struggle, many of them were wounded: at the battle of Almorah, about thirty, all of whom recovered. Several died of disease from the fatigue and heat of the weather; which was not extraordinary, considering the exposure to which they were subject during seventeen months. After deducting for deaths and invalided men during the campaign, 205 men of the original brigade of 250, returned in excellent condition to Calcutta.

The 1st Madras fusilier regiment also arrived at Calcutta, on its homeward route, on the 14th of February, and was received with great demonstrations of welcome. A portion of H.M.'s 3rd and 99th regiments, with the Calcutta volunteer guards, were drawn up in front of Government-house, where the viceroy, with a number of military and civil officers, had assembled. On the arrival of the regiment upon the parade, it was received with military honours, and loudly and repeatedly cheered. When silence was obtained, the governor-general advanced, and addressed the men in the following terms:—

“Colonel Galwey, officers, and soldiers of the Madras fusiliers,—I am glad to have the opportunity of thanking you publicly, in the name of the government of India, for the great services which you have rendered to the state. More than twenty months have passed since you landed in Calcutta. The time has been an eventful one, full of labours and perils, and in these you have largely shared. Yours was the first British regiment which took assistance to the Central Provinces, and gave safety to the important posts of Benares and Allahabad. You were a part of that brave band which first pushed forward to Cawnpore, and forced its way to Lucknow, where so many precious lives and interests were

at stake. From that time you have, with little intermission, been in the front of danger.

“You are now returning to your presidency, your ranks thinned by war and sickness; but you return covered with honour, carrying with you the high opinion of every commander who has led you in the field; the respect of your fellow-soldiers in that great English army in which, from the beginning, you have maintained a foremost place; and the gratitude of the whole community of your fellow-countrymen of every class. Further, you have the satisfaction of knowing that you do not leave behind you a single spot of ground upon which you have set your feet, where peace and order have not been restored.

“When you reach Madras, tell your comrades of the Madras army, that the name of the 1st fusiliers will never be forgotten on this side of India. Tell them that the recollection of all that is due to your courage, constancy, and forwardness, will never be effaced from the mind of the government under whose orders you have served. Tell them, especially, that the memory of your late distinguished leader is cherished and honoured by every Englishman amongst us; and that though many heroic spirits have passed away since the day when he fell in front of you in the streets of Lucknow, not one has left a nobler reputation than General Neill.

“I now bid you farewell, fusiliers, and I wish you a speedy and prosperous voyage to your own presidency. You are indeed an honour to it.”

It will be recollected that this gallant regiment saved Benares and Allahabad,\* and was present in all the actions consequent upon Sir Henry Havelock's efforts for the relief of Lucknow. So greatly was the precision of their fire dreaded by the natives, that the Nana issued a general order, commanding his people “not to meet the ‘blue-caps,’ who killed without being seen.” The regiment had lost, during its service in Bengal, more than three-fifths of its original number, or 600 men.

At the termination of the viceroy's address, the men formed again in marching order, and proceeded to the ghât, where they were to embark for Madras. As they marched along the strand, they were saluted by the guns of the fort and the shipping in the river, and all the vessels in the

\* See vol. i., pp. 223—226; 256—264.

harbour were dressed with colours in their honour.

The fusiliers reached Madras harbour on the 21st of February, and landed the following day, under a royal salute; a government notification, to the following effect, being issued for the occasion:—

“Fort St. George, Feb. 15th, 1859.

“Intimation having been received by government, that the Madras fusiliers would leave Calcutta, on their return to their own presidency, on the morning of the 15th instant, in H.M.’s steamer *Sydney*, and transport *Tubal Cain* in tow, they may be expected to arrive here on the 21st instant. Their arrival will be made known to the public by the firing of four guns from the St. George’s bastion, at intervals of a minute. Should the vessels be sighted before seven o’clock A.M., the regiment will land at three o’clock P.M. the same day; but if after that hour, they will not be landed till three o’clock P.M. the following day. Should they arrive on Sunday, at whatever hour, they will not land till the following day at three o’clock P.M.

“The whole of the effective troops in garrison, including the body-guard, will parade in full dress on the north beach, at Messrs. Parry and Co.’s office, at half-past two o’clock, on the occasion of the landing of the Madras fusiliers, and will form a street thence to the railway terminus, by opening out files as much as may be necessary. The troops will be under the orders of the senior officer on the parade. The Madras fusiliers will march through the street of troops to the railway terminus, where an entertainment will be prepared to do them honour. After the Madras fusiliers have arrived at the railway terminus, the troops will return to their respective barracks.”

The day was observed as a general holiday in all the government offices, and by the community at large. Along the street formed by the military, the veterans marched amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the ladies and gentlemen who crowded the verandahs of the buildings, and of an immense multitude of the native population. As they passed on, the troops presented arms to the colours that had come victorious from so many fields of battle; and upon its arrival at the railway station, congratulatory addresses were read to the regiment from the European and native communities. The men then partook of more substantial refresh-

ment, and, after dinner, stepped into the special train, which conveyed them to Arcot, from whence they proceeded to Bangalore, whither their wives and families had previously been sent, to be in readiness to receive them.

On the 14th of March, a notification in the government gazette, contained the following recognition of the services and meritorious conduct of H.M.’s 10th and 32nd regiments, then *en route* to Calcutta, for embarkation to England:—

“No. 360, of 1859.—H.M.’s 10th regiment of foot is about to embark for England. His excellency the governor-general in council cannot allow this regiment to pass through Calcutta without thanking the officers and men for all the good service which they have rendered in the last two eventful years; first at the outbreaks of Benares and Dinapore; next as a part of the column under their former commander, Brigadier-general Franks; and more lately in the harassing operations conducted by Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, and Brigadier Douglas, on either bank of the Ganges. The governor-general in council desires, in taking leave of the 10th regiment, to place on record his cordial appreciation of their valuable services. The regiment will be saluted by the guns of Fort William on leaving Calcutta.

“No. 361, of 1859.—The services of H.M.’s 32nd regiment light infantry, which formed a part of the heroic garrison of Lucknow, and which is now about to leave India, claim a special acknowledgment from his excellency the governor-general in council. These services extended through the defence of Cawnpore, and through the final operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude. The governor-general in council thanks the 32nd regiment for all that they have done and endured. His excellency congratulates officers and men on their return home after a long and distinguished career in India, and bids them heartily farewell. A salute will be fired from Fort William before the departure of the regiment.”

The popularity of Lord Canning, which, during the progress of the rebellion, had been frequently and rudely assailed, was now destined to receive a shock, in consequence of a financial measure introduced by him to the legislative council of India, in March, 1859. In the extraordinary circumstances of the country, the imposition of new taxes to meet interest of new loans and the increased war expenditure, had become a matter of necessity, about which there was no dispute; but the question how the two millions requisite for the emergency were to be raised, gave occasion for a vast diversity of opinion, which at length concentrated into a general expression of discontent on the part of the commercial and mercantile interests of the three presidencies. The circumstances under which



a perfect hurricane of useless indignation was evoked by the members of these important communities and their organs, were as follows.

At a meeting of the legislative council of India, held on Saturday, March the 12th, at which were present the viceroy and governor-general, the Hon. Sir J. Colville, Sir C. Jackson, Major-general Sir James Outram, H. Ricketts, B. Peacock, H. B. Harrington, H. Forbes, E. Currie, and P. W. Le Geyt, Esqs.—his excellency laid upon the table a “Bill to alter the Duties of Customs on Goods imported or exported by Sea;” the clauses of which, and schedules annexed, were as follows:—

I. From and after the passing of this Act, so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 14, of 1836; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 6, of 1844; so much of the Schedule annexed to Act 9, of 1845; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 1, of 1852; and so much of sections 2, 3, and 4, Act 30, of 1854, as prescribe the rates of duty to be charged on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea—are repealed.

II. From and after the passing of this Act, all the provisions now in force of the above-mentioned Acts which have reference to the duties of customs now charged and leviable on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea, shall be taken to have reference to the duties of customs prescribed in the schedules annexed to this Act; provided that nothing in this Act shall authorise the levy of duties of sea customs at any free port, or be deemed to affect the provision of Acts 6 and 7, of 1848.

III. Nothing in this Act shall apply to the articles of salt or opium, or to teak timber exported from the Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim provinces.

IV. And whereas contracts or agreements may have been made for the sale or delivery of goods on which increased or additional duties are imposed by this Act, and which contracts or agreements may have been made without reference to such increased duties, and thereby the several contractors may be materially affected. It is therefore further enacted, that if any person shall, by virtue of any contract entered into before the passing of this Act, be bound to deliver, at any time after the passing of this Act, goods hereby made liable to an increased or additional rate of duty, and shall, upon the importation or exportation of any goods which he may deliver on performance of such contract, pay a rate of duty higher than that which was imposed by law on such goods at the time when the contract was entered into, every such person is hereby authorised and empowered to add to the price of such goods a sum equal to the difference of the duty paid under this Act, and the duty which would have been payable under the laws in force when the contract was entered into, and shall have the same remedy for the recovery of such sum, as if the same had been part of the price agreed upon.

V. This Act shall take effect on and after the 12th day of March, 1859.

Schedule A.—Rates of duty to be charged on the following goods imported by sea into any port of

India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, grain and pulse, horses and other living animals, ice, coal, coke, bricks, chalk, and stones (marbles and wrought stones excepted), cotton wool, books, machinery for the improvement of the communications and for development of the resources of the country—all free. And the collector of customs, subject to the orders of the local executive government, shall decide what articles of machinery come within the above definition, and such decision shall be final in law. Cotton-thread, twist, and yarn—five per cent.; tea, coffee, tobacco and all preparations thereof, spices (including cassia, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace), haberdashery, millinery, and hosiery, grocery, confectionery, and oilman's stores, provisions, hams, and cheese, perfumery, jewellery, plate, and plated ware—twenty per cent.; porter, ale, beer, cider, and other similar fermented liquors—four annas the imperial gallon; wines and liqueurs—two rupees the imperial gallon; spirits—three rupees ditto. And the duty on spirits shall be rateably increased as the strength exceeds London proof; and when imported in bottles, six quart bottles shall be deemed equal to the imperial gallon. All articles not included in the above enumeration—ten per cent.

Schedule B.—Rates of duty to be charged upon goods exported by sea from any port in India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, books, maps, and drawings printed in India, horses and other living animals, cotton, wool, sugar and rum, spirits, tobacco and all preparations thereof, raw silk—all free; grain and pulse of all sorts—four annas the bag not exceeding two Indian maunds, or if exported otherwise than in bags—two annas the maund; indigo—three rupees the maund; lac dye and shell lac—four per cent. All country articles not enumerated or named above—three per cent.

His excellency then proceeded to explain the reasons which had led to the introduction of a bill of so much importance, the object of which was to increase the duties on imports. He observed, that the financial position of the government at the end of the year 1856, was good, and full of promise for the future—the previously existing deficit having been reduced from 104 lacs to 18 lacs; but the new financial year was only a few weeks old, when there fell that first spark which kindled the late wide-spread conflagration, of which the embers were but now dying out. Then came, he said, a time when they could no longer talk of balance-sheets; hearts, brains, hands, were alike required to think and act, and fight for their country. Now that its honour was vindicated, now that our character as merciful masters in our power was established, it was time to examine into the state of our financial resources, reduced, some seemed to think, well-nigh to exhaustion. He did not concur in that opinion; and he should shortly state, without going into minute detail, the most

prominent items of the expenditure of the late war, in order to show that no choice was left to the government, but that it was imperatively necessary for them to seek at once for resources in the taxation of imports into the country. His lordship then proceeded to say, that since May, 1857, when the mutiny commenced, there had arrived at Calcutta, from England, fifty-two regiments of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and thirty-eight companies of artillery and engineers. This army, to be kept in a state of readiness for the field, had received reinforcements, from Bengal alone, of 20,000 men; 165 transports, mostly of large size, had arrived at Calcutta; and not less than 5,000 horses had been landed there, besides large arrivals in Bombay. The commissariat expenditure for the year 1857, exceeded two millions sterling: this item had been doubled, and, for the present year, would be largely increased. Of munitions of war, there had been landed 7,000 stand of arms, and 186 rounds of shot and shell; and, of course, every item of that department bore like heavy proportions. It must be borne in mind, he observed, that with all this expenditure, they had to face a general and large rise in cost in every item, from an elephant down to a camp-kettle—ranging, in some cases, as high as 300 per cent. advance: the cost of carriage to the North-West Provinces had risen, in the last year, to £10,000 per mensem to Allahabad alone; and, in like manner, there was increased cost in England to be carried to account. He claimed, then, the admission, that it was no idleness or carelessness that gave rise to their present necessities, but the unavoidable cost of carrying out gigantic operations, that compelled the measure he had laid before them. They would better judge of their position when he stated, that at the close of the year ending 30th of April, 1858, they found themselves with a deficit of 817 lacs of rupees; i.e., 799 lacs worse than at the commencement of that year. Of that excess, 601 lacs were due to expenditure in India; the rest in England. The loss of revenue amounted that year to 350 lacs; loss of treasure, 130 lacs; increase of military expenditure, 382 lacs. To one point he could speak of his own knowledge—that, in the estimate of the expenditure of the current year, there was certainly, as yet, no sign of bettering their position. That statement, at the end of

the approaching April (1859), he greatly feared would be found to exceed 1,300 lacs. To meet the enormous expenditure, recourse had to be made to exceptional courses by debentures in England: eight millions sterling had been raised. The proceeds of loans in India, from the 1st of May to that time—say twenty-two months—was 914 lacs. Those two amounts together did not meet the amount of the expenditure; but it would be seen, by making the allowance for the excess in the balance of 1857 over 1858, there was a difference of 414 lacs; and that added to the two items given above, came nearly up to the amount mentioned. His excellency then said—"Whatever may be done by loans—whatever may be the opinion of individuals on the extent to which they should be raised, either in India or in England, one fact remains—we must find means to meet the interest upon them. He could appeal to them (the legislative council) on that ground alone, that it was their duty at once to provide as largely as they could, by all just means, to meet the demands coming upon them; and there was no means which would operate so entirely without injury to the public interest, or with less injury or pressure on individuals, than by raising the customs duty on imports." The present tariff, he observed, was based upon a system which had now passed away in England, and of which but few relics remained: and, adverting to the progressive adoption of free trade in England, and the repeal of the navigation laws, he said that the existing tariff varied from three-and-a-half to five per cent. on English, and from five to seven-and-a-half per cent. on goods of foreign origin. By the measure now submitted for the adoption of the legislative council, every protective or differential duty was cleared away, and the duties proposed would be levied solely for the purposes of public revenue. His lordship then proceeded to enumerate the various items embraced by the bill; and said, in conclusion, that it only remained for the council to decide the time at which the measure should come into operation. In ordinary cases, there would be a delay of three months from its introduction; but it was the intention of the government to propose that day to suspend the standing orders, so as to allow the bill to pass, and its provisions would then at once be put in force. He was aware that the change would interfere with the current operations



of the trading class; but it was better for all classes that there should be no interval between the passing of the bill and its action. He admitted that, in case of contracts to deliver goods at Calcutta at a fixed price (such price being, of course, based upon the existing rates of duty), there would be a difficulty; but, to save all hardship to parties under such contracts, a clause had been introduced into the bill, enabling the contractor to claim the additional duty from the buyer, as if such duties formed part of the original contract. After some further observations, his lordship moved that the bill be read a first time; and it was read accordingly.

On the motion that the standing orders be suspended, in order that the bill might be read a second time, the Hon. E. Currie said he had no idea of the intention of the government to pass the bill that day, and he trusted the council would not be borne upon to pass a bill of the kind, without an opportunity of considering its details. It was scarcely possible, on hearing such a bill read at the table, to follow its details, or to give any consideration to them; and it appeared to him that it was making mere ciphers of members of council, who, till that moment, had no opportunity of knowing the contents of the bill.

To this remark the governor-general replied, that there was assuredly no intention on the part of the government to make ciphers of any members of the council; and that the bill was pressed forward solely on public grounds, for the purpose of avoiding the doubt and uncertainty, and the total paralysis of business which must arise, if such a measure were held open for discussion.

The Hon. James Colville said he also shared in the surprise of the member for Bengal. He had certainly some idea of the suspension of the standing orders, to accelerate the progress of the measure; but he did not expect they would be called upon to pass it *per saltum* in a day.

After some further remarks, *pro* and *con.*, the bill was read a second time, and the governor-general gave notice of motion, that it should go into committee on the following Monday; and retired from the council-chamber.

On Monday, March the 14th, the legislative council again assembled, and went into committee on the bill. Upon arriving at section 4, relating to enforcement of duties

from buyers, under contracts for goods to arrive, the Hon. E. Currie said, that, before coming to the council, he had been waited upon by members of the mercantile community, who desired to represent that this clause, which was presumed to be for their relief, would, in reality, be of great injury to them; that there were very heavy contracts running for goods to arrive at fixed prices, to the extent of eighty per cent. of the arrivals for the ensuing two months, which would have to be delivered to the buyers at that fixed price, notwithstanding the provision in the bill; that if the duty was added, the native merchants would refuse to receive the goods; and if the importers attempted to enforce the payment, they would, in many cases, injure their business connection; and, on the other hand, if they did not enforce it, the owner of the goods at home, seeing this clause, would not allow them to claim any deductions from their returns, on account of this increase of duty; and so the loss would in every way fall upon them, the agents or factors in India.

The governor-general, in reply, said he could not understand the force of the objection. The clause did not put any compulsion upon the seller to enforce his contracts; it only empowered him to do so if he thought it desirable. The object was certainly not to oppress the correspondents of English houses in India, but to enable them to protect their interests.

The Hon. Sir J. Colville said his position was one that brought such matters as these very much before him; and he quite realised the difficulties of the position, which would be greatly augmented if the clause was retained.

The Hon. B. Peacock, on the part of the government, declared that it was certainly not prepared to abandon the clause, which was a most equitable one; and, moreover, its operation was entirely a question of choice for the parties interested. After some further remarks, the clause passed as it originally stood.—The Hon. E. Currie said, he saw no reason why articles of pure luxury, namely, precious stones, should be free of duty, whilst jewellery, made up, paid twenty per cent.; and Sir J. Colville said the same anomaly had struck him.—Lord Canning, while allowing the anomaly to exist, explained that it was most impolitic, and against every sound principle of taxation, to impose a tax which was nearly, if not

quite, impossible of collection; and while a king's ransom might be hidden, as he might say, in one's mouth, it was hopeless to impose any duty upon such articles.

After some objections had been urged against the free introduction of machinery, and the difficulty of defining many articles under item No. 15, Schedule A, the bill passed through committee, was reported, read a third time, and passed.

And now, upon the devoted head of the governor-general, burst the storm of indignant remonstrance and invective that had been gathering during the past sixty hours among the mercantile community of Calcutta, and which had even already manifested itself in public meetings hastily convened in Calcutta, and subsequently in Bombay and Madras, and in the more subdued tone of memorials from the Chambers of Commerce of the three presidencies. The Bombay papers were specially earnest and unanimous in their condemnation of the new tariff. "The inability," said the *Bombay Times*, "of Lord Canning's administration to cope with our financial difficulties, has been demonstrated most painfully by a new act of legislative infirmity, which casts the whole burden of the deficit upon the trade of the country. A new tariff has been suddenly imposed upon us without a day's warning; doubling, trebling, and quadrupling the duties upon all imports. We have given this administration a frank and loyal support throughout its difficulties; but its reputation seems destined to split upon the rock where nine-tenths of the administrations of the world suffer shipwreck."—Another paper, of the same presidency, declared, that "Lord Canning seems resolved to alienate from him for ever the respect and esteem of all right-thinking men. He has capped his past financial blunders by the introduction of a new customs tariff, which threatens to sap the existing trade between England and India to its very foundations."

The annexed narrative of events is from the *Bombay Gazette*:—"On the morning of the 14th of March, importers passing goods through the custom-house were surprised by a demand for greatly increased duties. They were informed that these were levied in accordance with instructions received from Calcutta by the electric telegraph; and a government notification subsequently verified this information. Eventually, it appeared that a bill 'to alter the

duties of customs' had, on the 12th, been introduced into the legislative council by Lord Canning himself, who desired to have the standing orders suspended, in order that he might pass it through at once. Mr. E. Currie and Sir James Colville, however, objected to the so precipitate passing of a most important measure, with the nature and details of which they had no opportunity of becoming acquainted, except that afforded by the clerk in reading it at the table. So the final sanction was deferred from Saturday to Monday, on which last-named day the bill became law, some hours after it had been put into operation here, and probably elsewhere.

"The excitement created here was great, and extended to all classes of the community. The matter affected the European part of it especially; for the duties on almost every imported article of consumption, from bonnets to beer, were quadrupled—raised from five per cent. to twenty per cent. And this just when the exigencies of the late times of disturbance had run up prices of European supplies to a point previously unheard of.

"The principal sufferers, however, were likely to be those who, having sold goods 'to arrive,' agreeing, as usual, to pay the duties and other charges thereon, found that their perhaps small profit was converted into a heavy loss by the necessity of having to pay double or fourfold the amount of duty which they had, on the faith of a long-existing tariff, taken as an element in their calculations. It was found, indeed, when the act in full was promulgated here, that a clause was inserted, designed to protect such persons, by enabling them to recover the extra duty from the purchaser; but, both here and at Calcutta, it seems thought by the merchants generally, that this only makes matters worse. The British importer will not take the native purchaser into court on such a point; and yet, if he be only an agent, he may, with this clause in existence, be held liable by his principal to make good the amount of extra duty.

"The measure took effect here on Monday, the 14th instant; and on Tuesday, the 15th, a numerously attended meeting was held on the subject. It was therein resolved, first to ask Lord Elphinstone to suspend, if he could, the fulfilment of the instructions which he had received, for a period long enough to enable importers to



avoid the injury consequent upon their immediate enforcement; if not, till the result of a reference to Calcutta, by telegraph, could be ascertained. His lordship could not suspend the measure at all; but he had anticipated the views of the mercantile community, and himself had telegraphed to Calcutta on the subject. The reply thence was, that no suspension could be allowed.

"Then the merchants assembled again, and resolved to memorialise Lord Stanley against the act, denouncing as well the impolicy of such a measure generally, as the injustice of its sudden operation. The memorial, a temperately worded but cogent document, goes home by this mail, and will, we trust, receive due consideration. Our great hope, however, is in the agitation of the manufacturers at home, who are at least as deeply interested in the matter as our Indian merchants and agents."

The absence of notice of the alteration formed the grand point of complaint. The financial necessities of the government formed, of course, their justification. Had the mercantile community received notice of the intended alteration, the revenue would probably have suffered considerably.

A string of resolutions was passed at a meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, convened on the 15th of March, to the following effect:—

"1st. That this meeting records in the strongest manner, the surprise and alarm with which the mercantile community of Bombay has received the government revenue notification of yesterday, and protests against the glaring injustice of the government of India in introducing, without notice, changes so seriously and prejudicially affecting the trade of Bombay."

"2nd. That as mercantile operations now pending were based upon the late tariff, they cannot, in the opinion of this meeting, be subjected, without great injustice, to pay an enhanced rate of duty."

"3rd. That the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce be requested to memorialise the right honourable the governor in council, expressing the feeling of the meeting in regard to the notification, and praying him to suspend the enforcement of the tariff."

A deputation was named to present the memorial, the result of which has been already stated.

The *Bombay Times* was supremely indig-

nant. It remarked—"But to come to the notification that has excited all this uproar. It must, of course, be withdrawn; the Chamber is quite powerful enough to insist upon it. The notification is but another of those blunders which spring from legislating in the dark, and cannot be persisted in, in the face of a proper remonstrance; only let us take care that the remonstrance lays down a principle which will preclude the recurrence of such mistakes in the future. There are two issues involved in this matter, which should be argued separately. The enhancement of the duties is one affair; the mode of introducing the change another: and the two questions should be the subject of separate memorials. It is the mode of introducing these changes against which the strength of the protest should lie; and it should explicitly insist upon the abandonment of the system of secrecy now followed, whether in the negotiating of a new loan, the levy of a new excise, or an alteration of duties. We defy the government to name a single good purpose this secrecy serves; while the mischief that results from it brings the administration into contempt, and sets all classes against it in hostility. Neither the local administration, nor the supreme government, had any intention of doing a wrong to our merchants in this matter. But there is an old lady's notion in the council, that the whole art of successful change in fiscal matters is to keep the government intention a profound secret. Here, again, is one of those fallacies that go unchallenged, because supposed to be self-evident. The only proper and safe way of introducing a change, is to advertise its proposed nature, that you may ascertain how it will affect private interests. The government assumes that it knows all about the matter beforehand, and takes its conscious integrity of purpose as a sufficient substitute for information. The result is confiscation. The notification, as fraught with injustice to many interests, must be withdrawn, and its provisions submitted to the careful examination of the public, before the date of its imposition is fixed. The effect those provisions will have upon the interests of our trade, will be reviewed by us by-and-bye. In the meantime, let there be an uncompromising demand for its rescission, and let our merchants conform thereto, only under protest.

"We defy any man to say what the

effects of the notification will be. Changes so sweeping as it inaugurates were never perhaps before introduced so summarily. The only proper and safe way of introducing such a measure, would have been to send it, in the shape of a bill, through the legislative council. The public would then have had the opportunity of carefully weighing its provisions, while all the interests affected thereby would have been heard against it. The present system is that of legislating in the dark. Lord Canning and his advisers hardly know what 'a sail to arrive' means; and that men should be allowed to play football with interests so weighty as those of our Indian commerce, is not to be tolerated. It is time that the imperialism of the Indian government gave place to a frank recognition of the fact, that there is an intelligent community outside, whom it may consult with advantage. We have no hostility to government that is not of its own creating, and would much prefer to be found supporting it in the main, to continual carping at it. The address of the Chamber of Commerce to the local government has appeared in our columns, as well as the governor's reply thereto. It is satisfactory to find that Lord Elphinstone had partly anticipated the prayer of the memorial, by telegraphing a recommendation to Calcutta, 'that goods shipped previous to the receipt of the notification' should be exempted from its operation. His lordship's meaning is not perfectly clear; but if he intend, as we suppose, that all goods in harbour and afloat up to the date of the notification reaching the ports of Europe, should be exempted, it would, perhaps, have been simpler to have recommended that the notification should not take effect until the 1st of October next."

Elsewhere, the same journal remarks—"If there is any sense of justice in the merchants of Bombay, they will protest in fitting terms against the attempt made by this new Customs Act, to divert from themselves its disastrous consequences, and to impose them by legislative violence upon the native dealer."

A meeting of the mercantile community of Madras, to protest against the new tariff, was held on the 25th of March, and resolutions in accordance with the views of the meeting, were forwarded to the lieutenant-governor for transmission to Calcutta.

Amongst the most hostile to the ob-

noxious measure, those were loudest in their complaints who took the suddenness of its application as the ground for their objection. The bill certainly was introduced into the council on a Saturday; and on the following Monday it became law, and the new duties imposed by it were instantly exacted. There unquestionably appeared an indecent haste in this precipitancy, which, taking the mercantile classes by surprise, was calculated to exasperate them; and there was, *primâ facie*, some reason for their dissatisfaction, since, upon such an occasion, all mercantile calculations must be overthrown; and cases of individual hardship were more than possible: but, upon reflection, it must have been apparent that, under the circumstances, and taking into consideration the object for which the new tariff was imposed, the demand urged, that the operation of the new arrangements should be postponed, and a notice of some months be given, was preposterously absurd. The object of the government was to obtain funds to pay the interest of money borrowed for the pressing exigencies of the state in a protracted season of extreme peril; and with all due recognition of mercantile patriotism and morality, the inevitable result of such procrastination would have been, that the largest possible quantity of commodities would be passed in the interval at the low duties, and the collection of the increased rates so immediately necessary, would have been deferred for a very long period.

While engaged in caring for their temporal concerns, the people of Madras also evinced a due regard to the welfare of their spiritual and educational interests by memorialising the government against any further state encouragement to the missionary movement, which had been largely supported by grants of public money. Their appeal to the governor-general on the subject, concluded as follows:—"Your memorialists earnestly request that the system of grants in aid may be abolished, and the sums at present disbursed through that channel, devoted to the establishment of government provincial schools; by means of which a far better education can be afforded to the people than has been, or can be, in the institutions of the missionary societies, by which the larger portion of the grants is swallowed up, to the intense dissatisfaction of the people; this appropriation having already evinced its natural consequences—as foreseen by the Hon. Mr. F.



Grant, in his minute dated the 12th of October, 1854—in the unhappy events in the North-West Provinces: that the temple property may be secured by legislative enactment; that government officials may be restrained from taking part in missionary proceedings on public anniversaries and meetings; and that the neutrality promised by your lordship, and solemnly confirmed by her majesty the Queen, may be undeviatingly observed and adhered to;—by which course of just and impartial policy, the people of India will most assuredly be won over to prize the English government beyond that of any of its predecessors, and, in due time, will be auspiciously and certainly realised the wise and memorable observation of her majesty at the close of her gracious proclamation—‘In the prosperity of the people will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.’”

By the beginning of May, 1859 (some two years after the terrible outburst of the sanguinary war that, in so short a period, had inflicted dire calamity upon thousands), reorganisation, rather than rebellion, became the great difficulty of government. Every department—administrative and executive—had been rudely shaken, and, in some instances, had been shattered into fragments: these had to be reconstructed, and the whole machinery necessary for their healthy action had to be reorganised. This difficulty added not a little to the Herculean labours imposed upon the viceroy and his council; but it was imperative that it should be surmounted. The financial difficulty already referred to, was, as we have seen, a colossal stumblingblock in the way of the government, not easily removable by any expedient likely to be satisfactory to all parties; and although money sufficient to pay the interest on the loans could be obtained, still the existing sources of revenue were far from adequate to the unavoidable permanent expenses of the government, and a recourse to new channels of supply became inevitable. Among the items calculated upon as likely to yield the required funds, it was proposed to extend the succession duty to all personal property, and all real property, not protected by the perpetual settlement. A tax on tobacco was also contemplated, which, with the succession duty, would add a second million to the one calculated from the new customs tariff. The succession duty was not expected to be unpopular;

but that on tobacco was likely to be much so, as every human being in India smoked—the wife as well as the husband, the child as well as the wife. A rise in price, therefore, of this article would affect every native; but still the population had never yet resisted indirect taxes. A third impost, in the shape of a marriage licence fee, was also proposed. This tax, levied by the Mussulmans, was in accord with the native ideas, and would be inappreciable in the midst of all the expense on feasts, torches, nautches, tinsel, and gilt cloths, usually equal to two years' income. The money being provided for the loans by which to tide over the years of difficulty, there remained the reduction of expenditure to income. The orders for this end, it was felt, must come from England, for the mass of private interests and inveterate prejudices rendered large reductions by the local government impossible. There was, in truth, but one feasible reduction. The total of civil expenditure could not be reduced; for all saved by cutting down salaries, and more, would be exhausted in the increased establishments imperatively required. The European military expenditure could not be diminished for years, except by cutting off the Indian allowances—a very difficult, and perhaps dangerous expedient. There remained still the three native armies, officially reported to comprise 243,000 men. Even this enormous number did not represent the full truth. The 8,000 military police in Bengal were not included in it, nor the 22,000 military police embodied for Madras. Those men were sepoys as to everything but duties, and were an addition to the regular native army they ought to have superseded. Omitting Bengal Proper, which wanted no troops beyond three regiments of Europeans, there were sixty counties to be protected: 1,000 men for each county would, it was officially reported by the Madras government, suffice to keep internal order. There were no external foes, except one or two native powers—the Nizam, the king of Burmah, and the tribes beyond the Passes. Allowing 60,000 more sepoys for those three objects, there were 120,000 native troops. If that view was correct, the native army was in excess of the permanent requirements by 120,000 men, costing in pay £2,250,000; and in the European force necessary to watch them, keep them faithful, and kill them when they mutiny, as much more. Still no important reduction could be

made without peremptory orders from England. All luxuries are necessities while we are accustomed to them; and the presidency governments naturally declared it impossible to reduce their establishments. They had to be cut down peremptorily at first, and raised afterwards, if experience showed that more natives were indispensable.

With regard to the probability of future disaffection, and its possible growth, it was considered that one of the most effectual checks would be found in decentralisation in the creation of provincial municipalities, and the granting of greater powers to the governments of presidencies. Hitherto the supreme council and legislature of Calcutta, which were entirely composed of government officials, had regulated the administrations of all India; the governments of the presidencies had no initiative; and the want of such initiative was the cause of serious inconvenience to them, at the same time that it led to hasty legislation on the part of the centralised administration at Calcutta. A proper consideration of these radical defects could not be postponed. It had to be entered upon with determination; and the results to be anticipated were the demonstration that measures of a nature too general in their application should be avoided; because what was a good law in one part of India, would be found a bad one in another part of the country. The field of legislation had to be contracted and subdivided, and the dangers incident to centralisation gradually neutralised. The present period was propitious for reforms; for such a plain field had seldom been open to a statesman, and a heavy responsibility would have been incurred by the present rulers if the advantage was not taken. The necessity for new taxes and retrenchment already afforded just grounds for altering systems which had been maintained beyond the time when they could be preserved with advantage; and though it did not appear, as yet, that the opportunity of improvement was clearly understood, there were symptoms which indicated the birth of a new policy. Sir C. Trevelyan, the new lieutenant-governor at Madras, seemed to be the pioneer of a better order of things, and had already dealt a final blow to a great and intolerable nuisance. The system of correspondence which so long involved in delays inextricable the most important questions of national improvement, was henceforth to be revised. Sir C. Trevelyan's

assurance was not required to convince Englishmen that the correspondence with the home government had become intolerable; but it was news to residents in India to hear that the home government was prepared to discontinue it. The system having been disapproved at home, the natural consequence was, that no compunction was felt in its abolition in India. The routine of references, from Bombay and Madras to Calcutta, and from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta to London, involving, as it did, the duplicate and triplicate copying of immense files of letters, had become an intolerable nuisance, by delaying for years the final settlement of questions frequently in their nature trivial, and therefore requiring nothing but immediate decision. The majority of questions submitted were practically neglected; the most important only were considered; and the result was, that routine prevented improvement in small things; while, in large and important matters, it delayed and impeded their final settlement. That such pernicious results were in future to be avoided, was a great boon to all who had dealings with the government. The saving to the exchequer, from the reduction in the copying department, at the same time, produced a most gratifying reduction in expenditure. Having gone thus far, the government became sensible of the necessity of reforming the system of check, countercheck, and audit, which necessitated the entertainment of an army of unnecessary clerks; for, under the system as it existed at the time of the assumption of the direct government by the crown, the number of abstracts, certificates, and other documents, drawn out in the course of a month in the pay and audit offices of the presidencies, would have astonished Downing-street, and frightened the Horse-guards. Words would fail to convey a just impression of this nuisance, of which one instance may suffice as an example of the extent to which it affected those who were subject to its annoyance. A Bengal subaltern officer of a native infantry regiment, had arrived in Bombay for the purpose of proceeding home on sick certificate. Having been recommended a sea route, for the partial re-establishment of his health before finally leaving India, he obtained a month's preparatory leave to proceed to Bombay. The journey was a longer one than the sick man anticipated, and his leave expired two days previous to



landing at Bombay. Before he could leave that harbour for home, the following formalities were imposed upon him:—He had to write to Calcutta to have his leave extended for the two days. To his letter a reply would be dispatched; on receipt of which, his agent in Bombay would be able to draw pay for two days, on the production of an abstract in triplicate, a copy of the order, and a form of authority constituting the drawer as agent. Thus five documents were to be produced before the question of this officer's pay could be finally disposed of; and the following list details the roll of documents he had to sign before leaving Bombay:—1, a copy of the order of preparatory leave; 2, pay certificate; 3, "no-demand" certificate, showing that no claims are producible against his pay; 4, security bond, in case any such claims should be forthcoming; 5, extract of general order granting furlough to Europe; 6, a life certificate, assuring the authorities that the officer in question is not dead; 7, a certificate that no advances have previously been made; 8, 9, 10, abstracts for pay in arrears up to the date of the expiration of the preparatory leave; 11, 12, 13, abstracts for three months' advance of pay; 14, 15, 16, abstracts for the first half of passage-money; 17, 18, 19, abstracts for the second half of passage-money; 20, certificate from the captain, of the date on which the vessel sailed in which the officer took his departure; 21, pilot's certificate that the ship sailed, and that the officer was a passenger in her (this certificate, to be attached to the abstract of the second half of the passage-money, enables the agent of the ship to draw); 22, 23, 24, abstracts for the two days' extension of preparatory leave already alluded to; 25, extract of the order extending the preparatory leave; 26, form of authority on which the officer's agent is to draw the pay for the two days on his behalf. Thus twenty-six documents were required before a Bengal subaltern could draw three months' pay, and proceed on furlough to England. It is easy to judge of the immensity of the number of government records, when those of a not unfrequent and simple case were so voluminous.

If Bombay had not yet taken the initiative in reforms similar to those of Madras, it appeared to be on the eve of changes in policy which were of exceeding importance. The fact that the chief of Meeruj, in the South Mahratta country, had been per-

mitted to adopt a son, was a proof that the hereditary policy in that respect had been beneficially altered. And there was reason to believe that adoptions would never, in future, be objected to. This, and the enactment of the new succession law, which was to supersede the *enam* resumption, it was considered would do more than any other measure to secure the loyalty and affection of the Southern Mahrattas, who, hitherto, had been a fertile cause of disquietude to every successive administration in India.

The final disposal of the ex-king of Delhi became a question of some difficulty, in consequence of the sentence of the court by which he was tried, indicating the Andaman Islands as his place of exile; those islands having already been chosen as penal stations for the rebels taken in arms. It was considered injudicious to place the deposed king, as a rallying-point, in immediate proximity to them; and at length, British Kaffraria was suggested for the future abode of the prisoner.—On the 10th of March, 1858, the governor of the colony, Sir George Grey, announced the intentions of the government to the local parliament, in the following terms:—"A correspondence will be laid before you, detailing the reasons for which it is intended to detain the king of Delhi in confinement in British Kaffraria. You will find from those papers, that this is an isolated case, and that no intention exists of transporting prisoners from India to her majesty's South African possessions." This assurance, it seems, was by no means satisfactory to the colonists, who so strenuously objected to the precedent proposed to be introduced, that it was deemed expedient to alter the intentions of the government, and to select another locality for the residence of the prisoner. After some further delay, a station in British Burmah, named Tonghoo, some 300 miles inland from Rangoon, and represented as the most desolate and forlorn district of the whole country, was finally chosen for him; and early in October, 1858, an order of the supreme government directed the removal of the ex-king and his family to Calcutta, where his final destination was to be made known to him. The departure of the mournful *cortège* took place at an early hour in the morning of Thursday, the 7th of October, in the following order:—A squadron of lancers as an advanced guard: a palanquin carriage, in which were the deposed king and two of his sons, Jumma Bukht and Shah Abbas (the

latter a mere child, son of a concubine) ; the carriage was surrounded by lancers : a second carriage contained the begum, Zee-nat Mahal, and some ladies of the zenana : a third carriage conveyed the Taj Mahal begum (a second wife of the ex-king), and her female attendants. These conveyances were followed by five magazine store carts, in which were twenty of the male and female attendants of the prisoner. The whole were closely guarded by lancers, a strong party of whom formed the rear of the cavalcade.

In this order, the escort, with its charge, proceeded towards Allahabad *via* Cawnpore, at which place it arrived, without interruption, on the very day the proclamation declaring the sovereignty of the Queen of England over Hindostan and its dependen-

cies, was announced to the people of India. Upon reaching Allahabad, the prisoner, with his family and attendants, were placed on board a river-flat for conveyance to Calcutta. The *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steam-tug, reached Diamond harbour on the 4th of December, where her majesty's steam-ship *Megara*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found ready to receive the prisoner and convey him to Rangoon, where he arrived on the 9th of December. The ex-king was immediately landed without any public demonstration, and sent into the interior under a strong guard, which had been detailed off for the better security of the exiles in their new abode. And thus miserably ended the career of the last king of the race of Timur.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE CAUSE OF REBELLION DISCUSSED ; MANIFESTO OF THE KING OF DELHI ; NATIVE IMPRESSIONS ; OFFENSIVE CONDUCT OF EUROPEANS ; LORD STANLEY AT ADDISCOMBE ; THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION ; OPENING OF PARLIAMENT ; REWARDS DISTRIBUTED ; INDIAN FINANCE ; RENEWED DISCUSSION ON THE SECRET DESPATCH, AND REPLY TO LORD CANNING'S EXPLANATION ; COMPARATIVE MERITS OF EMINENT MEN, AND THEIR REWARDS ; THE VICTORIA CROSS ; OFFICIAL DELAY ; LORD STANLEY'S EXPLANATIONS ; THE INDIAN LOAN BILL ; MISSIONARY PETITIONS ; DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY ; DAY OF THANKSGIVING PROCLAIMED ; THANKS OF PARLIAMENT TO LORD CANNING AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY ; OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS ; STRENGTH OF THE ARMY IN INDIA ; PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED ; THE DAY OF THANKSGIVING ; DISCONTENT IN THE COMPANY'S LATE ARMY ; THE NAWAB OF FURRUCKABAD DISPOSED OF ; FINANCIAL RIGHT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ; CONCLUSION.

THE question of cause and effect, as it regarded the fact of the Indian mutiny of 1857, was but partially solved, when the curtain fell upon the closing scenes of the great drama which, for more than two years, had absorbed the attention of the civilised world. Throughout the vast provinces of Bengal, the influence of religious fanaticism—the yearnings of disappointed ambition—the impatience of a foreign rule, which coerced, while it did not protect, the people from the tyranny and oppression of its servants ; and the reliance of the native races upon the prophetic auguries of their soothsayers and moulvies—had doubtless much to do with the garnering of that vast harvest of discontent, which an alleged intention of the government to interfere with the inviolability of *caste*, at length scattered broadcast over the country. The following statement of grievances, published

in the *Delhi Gazette*,\* as a manifesto issued by the king at an early period of the rebellion, explains very fully to the people the sense entertained by their native princes of the wrongs under which they suffered, and in some degree sheds light upon the causes of the revolt :—

“It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is therefore the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connexion with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end ; and it is

\* September 29th, 1857.



to accomplish this charitable object that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Affghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abul Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeens, or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been and are still accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade, and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation, and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi, or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly, as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip, for in the field of opportunity you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi government is well fixed.

"Section I.—Regarding Zemindars.—It is evident that the British government, in making zemindary settlements, have imposed exorbitant jummas, and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, inasmuch, that on the institution of a suit by a common ryot, a maidservant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned into court, arrested, put in gaol, and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps,

and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscriptions for schools, hospitals, roads, &c. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi government; but, on the contrary, the jummas will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be exempted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his zemindary, and excused from paying one-fourth of the revenue.

"Section II.—Regarding Merchants.—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people, and even in this they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c., in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be open to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam-vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British government.

"Section III.—Regarding Public Servants.—It is not a secret thing, that under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services, have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments, are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen; for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subahdar (the very height of their hopes), with a salary of 60r. or 70r. per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of sudder ala, with a salary of 500r. a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi government, like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of pansadi, puuj-hazari, haft-hazari, and sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the post of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge

secretary, and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of wuzeer, quazi, safir, suba, nizam, and dewan, &c., with salaries of lacs of rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, khilluts, inams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will, doubtless, go to hell. Therefore, all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi government, and obtain salaries of 200 or 300 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future. If they, for any reason, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of passing events, without taking any active share therein. But at the same time they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country.

"All the sepoy and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment, either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation.

"Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence-money according to the rates specified below for the present; and in future the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees, per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers and presents:—

Matchlockmen . . . .	2 annas a-day.
Riflemen . . . .	2½ do.
Swordsmen . . . .	1½ do.
Horsemen, with large horses . .	8 do.
Do. with small do. . . .	6 do.

"Section IV.—Regarding Artisans.—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton-dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisan has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt insure their prosperity. Therefore these artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens, or religious fanatics, engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"Section V.—Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other learned persons.—The pundits and fakirs being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war, otherwise they will stand

condemned according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated, and his property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death."

In this appeal to the people, to whom, as distinguished from the army, it was specially addressed, there was doubtless much of truth mingled with error; and, coming from the highest authority at the time, impressed with the royal seal and titles of the king himself, it confirmed and strengthened the sense of injustice which the natives were already too prone to believe they suffered under. In Oude, the germinating cause of mischief was of another and a loftier character. The people had beheld the sudden prostration of their country, which, by the arbitrary will of strangers, had been reduced from the rank of an independent state to the position of a mere province of Bengal: they knew their king to be a prisoner; their royal family dispersed, and their nobles and chiefs despoiled of wealth and power. In Europe, much less than this would have been held to warrant patriotic resistance to the death; and, in Oude, a natural feeling of indignation, and a resolve to avenge the wrongs of their native princes and of their country, became an inevitable consequence of the proceedings of the Company's government. In addition to these causes of discontent, a kindly-intentioned, but ill-explained or understood, reform in the tenure by which laud was held, which followed immediately upon the annexation, had the effect of unsettling the minds of the ryots, while it incensed the talookdars, or feudal chiefs; and sufficient time had not yet elapsed for the enlightenment of the people as to their true interests. In the resistance of a whole people to an act by which their nationality was destroyed, and the throne of their king had been shattered into fragments, reflecting men could see much that distinguished the rebellion in Oude from that which had left its dark and bloody stains upon the soil of Bengal. On their part, the Oudians were unquestionably in the position of men struggling for the independence of their country and the defence of their homes. On our side, it was undeniable that we were fiercely striving to tighten the grasp of recent aggression; while we eased our



consciences by endeavouring to believe that the men who resisted us were rebels; the fact being, that they owed us no allegiance; and that, by their resistance to an enforced and obnoxious rule, they were doing no more than, in our own case, under similar provocation, would have been held by us to be both patriotic and justifiable. And even in the royal manifesto already quoted, all was not said that might have been alleged of the grievances under which the people laboured through the system by which they were governed: but the omission was in some degree supplied, at a later period of the struggle, by a native of high rank, in the confidence of the government; who, by his position, was intimately acquainted with the working of the Company's administration in India, and with the opinions to which that administration had given birth. In a paper drawn up by that person, for the express purpose of enlightening the government upon the state of India, he says—"I have, within the last few months, collected some facts and opinions from various quarters, as to the causes of the rebellion and mutinies which commenced in May and June of last year (1857); and, with your leave, I will give you the results of my inquiries and of my meditations. I cannot pretend to pronounce whether my conclusions are just or not; you must weigh them well in your own mind on principles of justice. First, after the establishment of the British supremacy, many large and small estates belonging to the nobles and landlords of Hindostan, which had been acknowledged as hereditary property during the rule of both Hindoo and Mussulman dynasties, were attached by the British authorities, and title-deeds (*sunnuds*) required for each separate estate, large or small: up to that period no sovereign or governor had ever attempted such proceedings. And these regulations and these proceedings are in active operation still. Even sovereign princes, who had always lived in friendly alliance, and indeed in perfect submission to the Hon. Company—and the hereditary succession of whose principalities was firmly guaranteed by treaties, in which it was said that the sovereignty should descend to their heirs and successors—have not been exempt from the confiscation of their rights. From the time that the British government began to be most firmly established, the process of extinguishing native sovereignties began to be put in force; and even their accumulated

wealth, and their jewels and other property, which ought to have been the inheritance of their widows and children, have in many cases been disposed of by public auction, and the proceeds placed in the Company's treasury. From these reasons all people commenced to have doubts of the justice and good intentions of government; and more especially men of noble birth and ancient lineage, being completely ruined and degraded, thought that even death was preferable to such a life.

"2. Schools have been erected in every city, and persons of the lowest extraction have been instructed in various learning and science; and some of them, after government examinations, have become moulvies among the Mussulmans, and pundits among the Hindoos. Persons have attained to high rank in the service of government, without there having been any inquiry at any time into the respectability of their extraction or of their connections. For hundreds of years, under the rule of the kings of Delhi, the most careful distinctions of rank were observed and enforced, so that certain castes and tribes were even strictly confined to certain trades and professions; and the higher branches of education were not considered applicable to persons of low birth and mean occupation; but the sons of princes and nobles, after qualifying themselves by study, were admitted by the monarch to the most honourable and responsible offices, both in the civil and military service, many appointments being reserved for the great Hindoo families, in which they were made hereditary, and others being in a similar manner made hereditary in respectable Mohammedan families. The intention of the native sovereigns was, that in case of any rebellion, the great landholders and the hereditary officials in every district and in every city, having so great an interest in the stability of the government, and fearing to lose their hereditary situations, would certainly exert all their authority and influence to suppress all resistance to the monarch's commands.

"The policy of the British government has been directly contrary to this old-established native system; for it has spread abroad through the country persons of low birth and connections, who have been educated in government schools, and passed the examination. These people, by means of their official position, have completely deceived and misled the ignorant; while vast

numbers of the people have been worked up into fears for their religion and their old customs by these new pundits and moulvies of base extraction, who have been completely intoxicated by the learning they have acquired in the government schools, and have devoted themselves—the pundits to making chelas (Hindoo religious novices), and the moulvies to making mureeds (Mohammedan disciples), of every young person who fell under their influence. These new moulvies, intent on making a great name for themselves, having no real pretensions of family or solid learning, have all taken to preaching the most extravagant doctrines of the Mohammedan religion, pushing the precepts of the Koran far beyond the old and accepted interpretations. These moulvies have misled the people, persuading the Hindoos that the government intended to destroy their caste with the ‘greased cartridge,’ and persuading the Mohammedans that they were to be forcibly converted to the Christian religion. And now, hundreds of thousands of God’s creatures, on both sides, have been destroyed in consequence, and the government has been put to enormous expense and trouble.

“It ought to be well considered, that the British government has now ruled in India for more than a hundred years; that millions of Mussulmans, and Hindoos of the highest caste, have willingly entered into the British service, have worn the European dress, and that many of them have learned the English language. Even Mohammedans, although attached to their own religion, have actually fought with nations of their own race, and of the same religion; as, for instance, in Affghauistan: and in the same manner Hindoos have fought in the Company’s army against Hindoos, and have arrested criminal Brahmins, and delivered them up to justice, knowing that they would be put to death. Many Mohammedans have entered into the private service of English gentlemen, and performed all the offices of the table and kitchen, and have constantly cooked and served up food which is forbidden to be touched by the precepts of their religion; for, in the Mussulman faith, it is strictly enjoined that no true believer is to eat or drink, or buy or sell, or give or handle, or serve to the tables of others, those articles which are unclean or forbidden. But we all know that both Hindoos and Mussulmans are in the constant habit of taking medicines, both in the

solid and liquid form, at the hands of English doctors, and of submitting cheerfully to various other operations and practices, by which, according to the letter of their ceremonial laws, the Mussulman would be defiled, and the Hindoo would lose his caste. Yet who ever heard of a Brahmin sepoy washing his mouth with earth or cow-dung after leaving the hospital? Then how is it to be believed that they would spontaneously have made all this uproar and rebellion about a new-fashioned cartridge? These mutinies and the rebellion were all the work of the moulvies. Most of the leaders of the rebellion are moulvies and other Mohammedan devotees; but a few of them are Hindoo pundits.

“3. The government, many years ago, commenced the issue of stamped paper; and it was made a law, that no petition of complaint or redress would be received in any court of justice, unless it was written on stamped paper of a certain price. Thus, when people are unable to purchase stamped paper, they are often compelled to submit to injury, oppression, and wrong. This is more especially galling and aggravating in what are considered to be trifling cases of abusive language and petty assaults.

“4. The pay of every native official in the civil service of government is by far too small, and much less than in former times, while great power is put into their hands. This is more especially true of the sheristadars, and other amla of the courts of collectors, the magistrates, and the judges; for, in fact, most of the suitors in these courts apply to them in the first instance, and arrange matters with them. Cases involving thousands and lacs of rupees are sometimes virtually settled as the sheristadars choose. They succeed sometimes in getting decrees and orders passed just as they prompt the English officer; and sometimes they do not succeed: but, whatever happens, they always have the evidence under their own control, as it is all written and recorded by these officials. In consequence of this ill-gotten power, the whole tribe of amla (the ministerial officers of the courts) have become puffed up with pride, assume the post and the habits of noblemen, while they are completely demoralised and corrupt. In fact, they have adopted such expensive habits, that few of them now could exist without the help of bribes, their pay being so small. Thus are the subjects of



government ruined, and the good name of government destroyed.

"5. The plaintiff and defendant having argued their case in court, if a decree is given in favour of plaintiff, the defendant is ordered to pay the sum due to the plaintiff within a certain specified time. If he is unable to pay, his house and goods are seized in dstraint, and the unfortunate man is ruined. The same process is employed for collecting revenue balances. Under the native rulers, both Hindoo and Mussulman, the custom was, that if any landlord or other person was not able to pay his debts or the amount of a judgment obtained against him in a court of justice, in one sum, then an arrangement was made for payment by instalments, to which the plaintiff was obliged to submit. And in cases of balances of revenue and other debts due to government, instalments spread over many years were allowed; and when the landlords appeared to have been over-assessed, a reduction was made in the government demand. Very frequently the judge would persuade the creditor to forego all claim to interest, and even to accept half the money due to him as payment in full. Under the British government these paternal and benevolent exertions on behalf of the subjects are quite abandoned, and in their stead the most elaborate system for extracting every rupee from debtors and defaulters is put in force. The old system, which was most convenient and much approved by all, even by the money-lenders and merchants, was kept up, to my own knowledge, until the year 1823. Up to that period, also, the custom of settling disputes and claims of all sorts by Panchayat was adhered to; and fellow-citizens, assembled in a Panchayat to settle the affairs of their neighbours, always did their best to make matters straight, to mitigate animosity, and to make the terms of settlement at once equitable and easy. This was the natural consequence of the arbitrators being of the same race, and possessing the same feelings and customs as the disputants. But with a view to increase the revenue from the sale of stamped paper, the government has discouraged and checked the old custom of Panchayat as much as possible, so that few disputes and differences are now settled without a great expense in stamps, and a long process in some court of law.

"6. Formerly, under the old native sovereignties, the government provided, by

grants of land, and other convenient means, for the expense of town and city police and village watchmen. Under the British government, every house, whether it be that of a noble or of a poor man, or of a widow, is charged, according to a certain rate, with a tax called the Chowkeydaree tax, from which the police is paid; and if any person is unable to pay the tax within the prescribed period, a distress issues against him, and his house and trifling effects are sold by auction for the police tax. And no person whatever, living in a house, is exempt from the tax, or from dstraint if a defaulter, however poor he may be.

"7. No case in the courts of justice can be decided without the evidence of two witnesses; and, owing to certain defects in the courts, which I cannot now explain, the amount of false evidence is without bounds, and the crime of perjury without punishment. The plaintiff never fails to have his two or more witnesses, and the defendant is equally ready with evidence. They swear to positively contrary facts, and even contradict themselves; and yet these false witnesses are never punished for perjury. From this there has arisen a very common impression, whether just or unjust I will not say, but which is widely spread through the country, that the government do not wish perjurers to be punished, for fear that suitors and witnesses should be afraid to resort to the courts, and that thus the revenue from stamped paper should be diminished. Thus they say that the courts of justice are turned into shops for the sale of stamps.

"8. From the first establishment of British power in India, up to the year 1830, all people had the most perfect reliance on the words and on the promises of every English officer, whether of high or low rank, whether young or old. There was not a doubt as to the good faith of the British government. And, in fact, up to that time the government had not deviated in the slightest degree from any one of its engagements or promises, even if, by the carelessness or mistakes of former officials, the government had been involved in inconvenient and unprofitable obligations. Even verbal promises, and others that were known only as traditions, were religiously adhered to. But, in these days, even written and recorded title-deeds, and engagements of the most solemn nature, have been evaded or repudiated. If the injured persons protest and appeal against these decisions, they are told

that such are the orders, and such is the system, of the British government, and that it is not bound by the customs of former governments. By many years' experience of this new system, the confidence of the people, both rich and poor, in the good faith of the British government, has been completely destroyed; every one says now that the word of the government is not to be trusted.

"9. There is another objectionable point in the administration of justice—that when a plaintiff has got a decree in his favour in one court, after much loss of time and trouble, the defendant may appeal to another court and get the judgment reversed. Thus the dignity and authority of the judges and magistrates are lowered; and obedience to their orders, and confidence in their decisions, cannot be expected."

The taking of bribes, and theft, are also spoken of as quite inadequately controlled and punished in the courts of law; and the effect of the prevailing system of justice, as it is applied to this class of offences, is also pointed out by the writer.

But irrespective of these various grounds for discontent, there was also one which had sank deeply into the hearts of the sensitive and impulsive natives of Hindostan, who had for ages prostrated themselves at the feet of *Caste*, and who now saw that most venerated institution treated with indifference, if not with contumely, and the highest and most privileged of their race looked down upon with a repulsive affectation of superiority by strangers of another faith, who had acquired domination over them, more through the dissensions and treachery

\* A case illustrative of this view of the subject, is also supplied by an article in the *Madras Athenæum* of September, 1858, which comments, with deserved severity, upon the want of courtesy shown by the servants of the Company in the Mofussil, to the natives of the country; and instances the following epistle as a specimen of the tone in which, too often, the former indulged. The document was addressed, by a sub-collector of the government, to a *tehseldar*, who, officially, was the virtual lieutenant-governor of more than a hundred villages:—

"To the *Tehseeldar A. of the Talook B.*—When you appeared before us you promised to procure —for the governor in four or five days, whereas sixteen days have transpired, and you have not fulfilled your promise. You appear by your conduct to be a *liar* and *shuffler*, and quite unworthy of belief. Immediately on the receipt of this hookum (order), you are directed to explain why you have uttered an untruth, and the reason for not considering the importance of the governor's business.

"D. E., Sub-Collector.

"F. G., Jayobneviss."

of the people than by legitimate conquest. The treatment of the native races of India by European officials, was, as a rule, such as no people of spirit would submit to for an hour; nor could it have been ventured upon but for the wide expanse of ocean that lay between the servants of the Company and their masters. In the course of the rebellion, extenuatory facts were not wanting to account for many of the outbursts of popular feeling which, first exhibiting itself in the mutinous disorders of a few sepoys, spread, with the rapidity of lightning, into a popular movement, and, in its fury, made wreck of whatever stood in the way of a long-pent-up, but justifiable discontent. The danger and the evil were alike increased through the general ignorance that prevailed among the Europeans of the native languages, by which defect all familiar intercourse between the governors and the governed was prevented, and the gulf of races and creeds that yawned between the people and those who ruled them, became daily yet more wide and impracticable. This result was, moreover, sustained by the *hauteur*, and insolence of tone and manner, assumed by the civil and military servants of the Company in their dealings with even educated and wealthy natives, which naturally prevented any approach to cordiality or confidence on either side.\*

Upon this subject, the native writer to whose communication we have just referred, observes—"The great majority of English officers, both civil and military, are guilty of using bad language to their subordinates, dependents, servants, to the sepoys, and to the people of the country in general.

The epistle was sealed with the collector's official seal, and dispatched. The *Athenæum* asks—"What can be expected of men who live under a system of insults, threats, and extortion such as is here indicated?" We need be little careful in giving a reply. You may expect, in return, obsequious and ready obedience as long as you are in circumstances to enforce it; and when you are no longer so—a second Cawnpore massacre. Do not be in too great haste to conclude thence, that you are living in the midst of a den of wild beasts. Human nature is very much the same in the four quarters of the globe. It repays contumely with hate; and he must have lived in India with his eyes shut, who has failed to observe how little of true courtesy, or conciliatory bearing, is shown by our countrymen in their intercourse with the natives. Dr. Duff, who has written much, and well, on the subject of the present crisis, places this matter second on his list, when enumerating the causes of disaffection—"The want of conciliatory and confidential intercourse between our officers generally, and the still surviving native chiefs, heads of society and people."



In former days, three out of four English officers who were in any place of authority, were experienced, well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, and had some knowledge of the world; and, in particular, had seen much of India in their service and travels: only one quarter of the English gentlemen were young, and learning their duties. At present, the state of things is very different; but I shall say no more on this point." It was not necessary, perhaps; the statement as it is, comprises, in a few quiet words, a sufficient exposure of one of the worst features of the national character, when developed under the condition of absolute rule, and aggravated by the evil passions necessarily engendered by the horrors of an internecine strife. In corroboration, however, of the statement, the authority of Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for India, may be instanced. At the half-yearly public examination of the cadets at Addiscombe college, on the 10th of December, 1858, his lordship, as president of the institution, took occasion to refer to this glaring abuse, in his address to the young men then preparing for service in India, in the following terms:—

"No man, I believe, can be a really efficient general, far less an efficient administrator, who does not closely study the human machinery with which he has to work, the people of the country in which he lives and acts. Do not imagine that your work in that respect is more than begun when you have acquired the necessary qualification of language. Examine native habits, native ideas, native character; do it in a spirit of fairness, and you will gain at least this, even if you gain nothing else—that you will avoid that ignorant and unwise contempt for all that is Asiatic, which, politically and personally, does Englishmen so much harm in the East. You cannot live, however you may attempt it, in a state of entire indifference to those who surround you in such multitudes. If you do not bear them goodwill you will bear them ill-will; and, as it seems a law of nature that between different races of men, until they get acquainted, a certain repugnance shall exist, so it is equally certain that by better knowledge, if there be only the will to acquire it, that feeling of repugnance is dispelled." Continuing his admonitory counsel, and after adverting to the loyalty and valour of many of the native princes and their levies, who had fought side by side with the Europeans

during the existing struggle, with unsurpassed fidelity and honour, the noble secretary concluded by saying—"Remember, that for a European gentleman in India, there is, strictly speaking, no private life. He is one of the ruling race: he is one of the few among the many: he is one of a population some 10,000 strong, among more than ten times as many millions. There are, little as he may know or care about it, quick eyes to watch his conduct, and envious tongues ready enough to disparage his nation and his race. A single officer, who in his intercourse with, or example before, the natives around him, forgets that he is an officer and a gentleman, does more harm to the moral influence of his country, than ten men of blameless life can do good."

How far the agitation that acquired renewed vitality immediately upon the suppression of the war of the mutinies, for the more extensive diffusion of the tenets and practices of the Christian religion in India, may, at some distant period, operate to destroy the overweening and offensive assumption of superiority thus gently referred to by Lord Stanley, time alone can show: but meanwhile it had become necessary, for the future safety of the country, that the bearing of Europeans of every class, towards the native races of India, should be very considerably modified; and no time could be better chosen to inaugurate a new epoch in the history of its people, than that which marked the introduction of the imperial government of Queen Victoria.

The question of religion had also, for years past, as treated by the authorities, contributed to place the European government of India in a false position. It professed Christianity, and, upon principle, ought consistently to have deprecated and discountenanced the impure rites of a debasing idolatry among its subjects; advocating and upholding, in lieu of it, a theology based upon the purest doctrine ever promulgated for the enlightenment of mankind: but it not only tolerated, and liberally supported, the superstitious and monstrous worship of the gods of India, but, by its countenance and pecuniary support, aided in the propagation of a faith which, as a Christian government, it professed to condemn. Its acts were, in this matter, contradictory, vacillating, and embarrassing; for, while it observed the forms of Christian worship, and upheld its church services on the one hand—on the other, it gave the right hand of

fellowship to idolatry, subsidised its priests, and maintained its temples. Thus we are told by a writer well versed in the affairs of India,\* that "large allowances are paid from the state treasuries in every collectorate of Western India, for the performance of idol and Mohammedan worship. The Indian government, not content with prohibiting its servants from attempting to convert the natives, actually makes them disbursers of payments for the performance of idol worship! \* \* \* Before the collector can disburse these sums, the officiating Brahmin and Synd must obtain a certificate that the ceremonies have been properly performed. On the production of this certificate, the collector pays the annual allowance, for the performance of what he must regard as the greatest sin a man can commit. Upwards of £30,000 are annually paid away in these collectorates. In addition, many entire villages, of large magnitude, are permanently alienated for the same purpose. The rental of these, in each collectorate, averages about £1,500 a-year; thus increasing the disbursements for the maintenance of idol worship, to the sum of nearly £50,000 a-year."—The following facts, in connection with this unholy alliance between the Christian religion and the gross idolatry of India, were given on authority, as existing in November, 1857:—"In the Madras presidency, there are now 8,292 idols and temples, receiving from government an annual payment of £87,678. In the Bombay presidency, there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £30,578 10s.; to which must be added the allowance for temple lands: giving a total for the Bombay presidency, of £89,859 6s. In the whole of the Company's territories, there is annually expended, in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the Company, the large sum of £171,558 12s." In addition to these facts, it was notorious to the people of India, that the position of native converts to Christianity in the ranks of the army, was systematically one of extreme and marked annoyance. Excommunicated by his former associates and co-religionists, he not only was received with indifference by his Christian comrades and officers, but his promotion was stopped, and occasion sought for his discharge from the army, however merito-

rious his conduct as a soldier might have been (irrespective of the fact of his conversion). Such discharge involved the loss of pension, and sent him home to his family an outcast and a beggar. Seeing, therefore, so little accordance between the precept and the practice of Christianity in the relations of government with its native army, it was not to be expected that any great faith could be reposed in its professions of regard for the inviolability of the Hindoo religion, when so little care was taken to maintain the declared principles upon which its own was founded.

In connection with this subject, a large and influential class in England, asserted that the propagation of Christianity in India had ever been systematically checked by the government of the Company, and, that had missionaries been duly encouraged from the first, and the officers of both services had been called upon to display a becoming zeal for the evangelisation of the natives, Christianity would have made so great a progress before the present era, that the horrors of the sepoy revolt would never have taken place, or, at all events, must have been greatly alleviated. But persons holding such opinions were perhaps ignorant, that besides great difficulties in the way of proselytising, non-interference with the laws and religion of the natives had been the condition of European advancement to supreme power in India. Without this understanding, the Company neither could have been assisted by a native army, nor could it have obtained the acquiescence of the masses in its progressive advancement to territorial power. Whatever may have been the errors or shortcomings, as regarded this question, during the Company's rule, it now remained for the Queen's government to profit by experience, and "from the nettle danger, to pluck the rose, safety." By a judicious interposition of its supreme authority in India, the position of the British, after the great struggle had collapsed into a series of mere partisan conflicts, was materially altered from what it had been before the troubles commenced. The natives of India had fought for their creeds, and lost; and the Indian government at home had changed hands during the contest: and it was only reasonable to assume, that with new men, new measures for the benefit of the country would be inaugurated. The 'vantage-ground held by the royal government had not been gained without great

\* *England and India; an Essay on the Duty of Englishmen towards the Hindoos.* By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. Nisbet and Co.: 1859.



sacrifice of blood and treasure; and it was not likely that it would be occupied without an effort to improve it. It was urged by the advocates of proselytism, that the moment had arrived for a public and decided demonstration of Christian principles, as well as for an unsparing elimination of all heathen practices which were actively pernicious, and opposed to the fundamental principles of morality. The systematic dedication of native children, at Hindoo temples, to a life of profligacy, was one offence that, in their view, required immediate and rigorous prohibition by law. The processions at the Mohurram, which had frequently been productive of sanguinary broils and gross indecencies, they also urged should be forbidden; and that other practices common to the religious observances of the natives, should be repressed and abolished by authority. But the difficulty in the way of such desirable reforms, which, by the way, had not entered into the calculations of these well-intentioned but too sanguine reformers, was this—that not only would native prejudices be aroused to a dangerous extent among the people themselves; but the moment government had placed itself in the attitude of repression suggested, hundreds of over-zealous but inconsiderate officials, both native and European, would emulate each other in pushing such reforms far beyond the limits which justice and toleration prescribe; and the strict line of impartiality once passed, a door would be thrown open, through which a considerable amount of persecution would enter, to rekindle the almost dying embers of disaffection to English rule. Whether such a risk would be likely to tend ultimately to the positive advancement of Christianity in India, was to be a question left for the next generation to answer: it did not fall within the range of duty, on the part of these theorists, to solve it.

With these multifarious and important subjects before it, each of which demanded instant consideration and adjustment, it may readily be conceived that the new government of India had an arduous and difficult task to accomplish, before it could hope for any permanent improvement in the vast field spread before it. The parliamentary session of 1859, was, however, about to open, and the eyes of the country were turned towards it with earnest expectation of good for India.

On Thursday, the 3rd day of February,

1859, her majesty, Queen Victoria, opened the third session of the fifth parliament of her auspicious reign, with a speech from the throne, in which were the following passages relating to Indian affairs:—

“The blessing of the Almighty on the valour of my troops in India, and on the skill of their commanders, has enabled me to inflict signal chastisement upon those who are still in arms against my authority, whenever they have ventured to encounter my forces; and I trust that, at no distant period, I may be able to announce to you the complete pacification of that great empire, and to devote my attention to the improvement of its condition, and to the obliteration of all traces of the present unhappy conflict.

“On assuming, by your advice, the direct government of that portion of my dominions, I deemed it proper to make known, by proclamation, the principles by which it was my intention to be guided, and the clemency which I was disposed to show towards those who might have been seduced into revolt, but who might be willing to return to their allegiance. I have directed that a copy of that proclamation should be laid before you.”\*

On the following day, in consequence of some alleged misrepresentations in parliament during the preceding session, in reference to the governor-general and Sir John Lawrence, Earl Grauville said he was anxious to take that early opportunity of making a statement with regard to Sir John Lawrence, one of the most distinguished men in India, and to whom the country was greatly indebted for the part which he took in the suppression of the rebellion. The noble earl proceeded to say, that he had had a correspondence with that gentleman with respect to a statement made by him the preceding year, and would now state the result of it. In the course of a debate last session, he had stated, as a proof of the firmness of Lord Canning, that on hearing some negotiations were being carried on with the insurgents at Delhi, he took it upon himself to send a telegraphic message, objecting to their being proceeded with, although they had been regarded favourably by Sir John Lawrence and by the military authorities. This statement was made upon information of the most reliable character. From communications, however, which he had since received from Sir John Lawrence,

\* See *ante*, p. 518.

it appeared that the negotiations were not carried on with the body of the insurgents, but were proposed by the king of Delhi himself to the general in command, General Reed—not General Wilson, as he supposed at the time—who thought, and Sir John Lawrence concurred in that opinion, that it was desirable to negotiate with the king of Delhi, on condition that he should give an assurance that he had never issued orders for the murder of any of our fellow-countrymen, and on his giving a guarantee to deliver into our hands one of the gates of the town. The chief reasons assigned by Sir John Lawrence for agreeing to these negotiations, were the small number of our troops, the inefficiency of our siege-train, the immense disproportion of the field guns of the enemy, and a variety of other circumstances, which placed our army in a position of considerable jeopardy. In this state of things, it was thought desirable to enter into negotiations, with the view of saving many valuable lives. At that period, the communications between the place where Sir John Lawrence was, and Calcutta, were entirely stopped. Sir John Lawrence sent information to Lord Canning as to his views on this matter; and he had reason to believe that that particular despatch was not received by Lord Canning. It appeared that afterwards a message was received from Lord Canning, stating that he had heard rumours of such negotiations being on foot, and that he objected to any negotiations which might result in placing the king of Delhi in his former position. That message arrived after the negotiations were found to be fruitless, and when the siege was nearly completed. These statements were the results of a very long letter from Sir John Lawrence, and of confirmatory documents. He never, for one moment, doubted that any course which was taken by Sir John Lawrence could not be defended by the most weighty reasons and arguments. He was, however, still of opinion that it required great moral courage on the part of Lord Canning, when he heard that rumour, to take upon himself to forbid such negotiations; and although he had no doubt that Sir John Lawrence was right at the time, and that if possession of the place could have been obtained by negotiation, it would have prevented the loss of most valuable lives; still, on the other hand, judging after the event, it was some advantage that Delhi should have been taken without any

negotiations having been completed with the king, who was at the head of the insurgents. He should be very sorry if anybody imagined that he wished to disparage either of those distinguished men in order to raise the character of the other. Such was certainly not his intention. On the contrary, he believed that both, in their different capacities, performed their duties in a manner which was fully appreciated both in this country and in India; and what was especially satisfactory to himself, was the fact that in this correspondence Sir John Lawrence spoke in the highest terms of Lord Canning; just as Lord Canning, in his private letters, never failed to acknowledge, in the warmest terms, the great services of Sir John Lawrence.

In the House of Commons, the same evening, Mr. Hadfield, referring to the paragraph in the royal speech which related to India, took an opportunity of mentioning the alarm felt in the manufacturing districts of England, lest a deficiency should arise in the supply of their staple materials. This more particularly related to cotton, of which it was believed that India might, under proper management, furnish an abundant supply. What India wanted, he said, were roads, and water, for the purposes of irrigation; and with these, he believed that country would be able to make all the difference between an abundant and a restricted supply of cotton. According to calculation, the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the United States, cost us two millions annually; while India might save us that amount; and therefore he asserted that that country had a strong claim on our government. He hoped the noble lord opposite would tell the house what the government intended to do with reference to the encouragement of public works in India.—Lord Stanley, in reply, trusted that the house did not expect him to go into details as to the amount of our cotton supply, or as to the state of public works in India, the more especially as he would have a better opportunity ten days hence, when it would be his duty to introduce the subject of Indian finance.

The question of rewards to such of the native princes of India as had remained true to their allegiance during the rebellion, was mooted in the House of Commons on the 11th of February, by Mr. Vernon Smith, ex-president of the Board of Control: in answer to whom, Lord Stanley stated, that the subject had been under the consideration



of government, and that despatches had been sent out, naming certain native princes as specially deserving of reward, and calling for a report on the claims of others. He also informed the house, that rewards had already been given to the rajah of Putteeaia, by a cession of territory worth two lacs a year, and something more; to the rajahs of Jhceud and Nubba, territory worth one lac each; and to the rajah of Chirkaree, land of which the value was not yet ascertained. The Guicowar had also received a remission of the tribute or subsidy of three lacs of rupees annually, which he was bound by treaty to pay for the support of a force of irregular cavalry. The cases of Scindia, Holkar, and the Nizam, were then under the consideration of government: and in addition to the honour already conferred by the Queen upon Jung Bahadoor, it was in contemplation to restore to him some territory in Oude, which had formerly belonged to Nepaul. His lordship stated, that the government, both at home and in India, was deeply impressed by a sense of the obligations it lay under to the native princes mentioned, and that it was not their intention to destroy the grace and value of the gifts to be conferred upon them, by deferring them until the memory of the services rendered should cease to be present to the minds of the people of India.

In connection with this subject, it may be here noticed, that the government of India had on its part evinced a sense of the eminent services of one of its civil officers, by a reward alike munificent and deserved. When, in August, 1857, the Dinapore brigade broke into mutiny, it may be remembered that a gentleman named Boyle, residing at Arrah,\* fortified his house, and under its shelter, in conjunction with the civil magistrate of the district, Mr. H. C. Wake, preserved the lives of several Europeans—defending the position with a sagacity and valour that had the effect of arresting the progress of rebellion for a considerable time, and ultimately forcing the mutineers to abandon their designs in that quarter. For more than eighteen months, Mr. Boyle had vainly sought compensation for the damage done to his property by the enemy: the only notice taken of his representations being a very cold and formal letter of thanks. At last, when that “hope deferred which maketh the heart sick” had almost vanished, the government suddenly informed

him that a jaghire of £1,000 a-year had been settled on him for life, and £500 a-year upon his heirs for ever. The gift, carved out of the forfeited estates of Koor Sing, was estimated to be worth £20,000; and the announcement of the princely and well-merited reward was received with extreme pleasure throughout India, as a token that Europeans there would ultimately be as generously rewarded for their heroism and sacrifices, as the native defenders of the government had been, or were likely to be. A railway *employé*, named Victor, also received a donation of 1,000 rupees for meritorious conduct at Arrah.

On the 14th of February, the financial affairs of India were brought under the notice of parliament by Lord Stanley, who, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to enable the secretary of state in council of India to raise money in the United Kingdom for the service of the government of India, gave the following outline of the financial state of that country during the past two years, as compared with that of the two years preceding. The noble lord said, that the total revenue in the years 1856-'57, was £33,303,000; the expenditure, £33,482,000; showing an apparent deficiency of £179,000: but this expenditure included a large sum laid out upon objects which came under the comprehensive title of “public works,” and but for which there would have been a considerable surplus. The deficiency, which in the year 1853-'54 was £2,100,000, was in 1854-'55, £1,700,000; in 1855-'56, £1,000,000; and in 1856-'57, as before stated, only £179,000: showing that, at the time of the outbreak of the mutiny, the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure was nearly restored. The accounts for 1857-'58 had not been received; but the estimated revenue was £31,544,000, and the expenditure £39,129,000; showing an estimated deficiency of £7,600,000, besides the extra expense for troops and stores, amounting to £1,500,000: so that the total deficiency in the year 1857-'58, in round numbers, amounted to £9,000,000. The estimate for 1858-'59 was—revenue, £33,016,000; and expenditure, £45,629,000; showing an estimated deficiency of £12,600,000: to which, if the deficiency of 1857-'58 be added, the total deficiency of these two years since the mutiny, was £21,600,000, in which no account was taken of the compensation for the loss of private property. Lord Stanley then noticed the items of the Indian revenue,

\* See *ante*, pp. 104—167.

four-fifths of which was derived from two sources—namely, the land revenue (including the sayer and abkaree taxes) and the opium monopoly, neither of which admitted of augmentation. The former grew only with the growth of the territory; and the latter was, upon principle, open to objection. The material progress of India, therefore, did not, as in other countries, produce a corresponding result upon the public revenue; while there was more difficulty in imposing new taxes in India than elsewhere. There was not the same means of ascertaining what the public feeling was, nor the same opportunities of receding from an unpopular impost. There was only one resource—that of diminishing the outlay; and he thought he might safely assume, that the deficiency of £21,600,000 was more than due to an expenditure for extraordinary services. The military expenditure for 1856-'57, the year before the mutiny, was £11,546,000. In 1857-'58, the first year of the mutiny, it amounted to £18,212,000; and in 1858-'59 it reached £22,598,000: so that there was, in these two years, an excess of nearly £18,000,000 in military expenses alone. Besides this, the loss of revenue by non-collection and plunder, was estimated at £5,650,000: these two causes alone made up a sum of £23,620,000, and exceeded the amount of the apparent deficiency. He looked forward likewise, he observed, to a considerable reduction of the civil expenditure by a more extensive employment of uncovenanted servants. The salaries of the covenanted servants were undoubtedly large; but no one, he remarked, ought to deal with this question without considering the extreme difficulty of getting fit men to fill that service. Lord Stanley set forth various grounds which led him to form hopes that the financial condition of India would improve by the diminution of expenditure, as well as by an impulse given to the revenue. The military ascendancy of England, he observed, had been completely established; changes of policy had been introduced; our power had been concentrated; and a large portion of our territories had been so recently acquired, that time had not been afforded for the development of their resources. He then proceeded to another branch of the subject—namely, the present state of the Indian debt, the amount of which was £74,500,000, of which the home debt was £15,000,000, and that raised in India

£59,500,000. However great this debt might appear, yet, relatively to the amount of the revenue up to the year 1856-'57, it had not increased—not exceeding two years' revenue. He dwelt upon the enlargement of the commerce of India, which had doubled in the last twenty years; upon the extension of public works and railways, and upon the returns already yielded by some public works. He then adverted to the subject of the tenures of land in India, with special reference to the colonization of the country by Europeans, and pointed out the difficulty and danger of meddling with the different modes of land settlement. One class of lands the state had the power to deal with unshackled—namely, unoccupied and unclaimed lands; and it was quite possible, he thought, to open these lands to Europeans. Upon this part of the subject he adverted to the *enam* inquiries, respecting which, he remarked, an error prevailed. The main object of these inquiries was not to improve the revenue or to destroy titles, but to confirm them; to give to landholders what in this country was termed a parliamentary title. In conclusion, he asked the house to authorise a loan to the government of India of £7,000,000, expressing at the same time his hopes, that although the deficiency might continue, it would not be necessary to seek any future loan for India in this country. The noble lord concluded by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the subject on the following Friday; on which day the motion was discussed; and, ultimately, a resolution on which to found the proposed bill was agreed to. Upon the second reading on Monday, the 7th of March, Sir G. C. Lewis protested against the home exchequer being, under any circumstances, made answerable for the debts of India; and Mr. Bright declared his belief, that no permanent improvement could be expected in Indian finance, until the whole system of government in that country was remodelled and reformed. The present plans, he contended, comprised only some temporary relief to the local, at the expense of the imperial, revenue. No change of any real importance had yet been accomplished, in consequence of the formal assumption of sovereignty in India by the Queen; nor was any real reform to be looked for so long as the ministry continued, as at present, surrounded by a council consisting of men who had grown up under the old system of



misgovernment, and who would of necessity oppose and thwart every proposal for fundamental amelioration. Enlarging upon the mismanagement of the Indian administration, the opportunities that had been missed, the resources that were left undeveloped, and the miseries which had in consequence overtaken the inhabitants of that country—the honourable member maintained, that no cure could be discovered for the present chronic state of deficiency and embarrassment, until the governmental system was thoroughly improved, and the population of Hindostan rendered so contented and prosperous, that the enormous army which was now requisite to keep down revolt, could be reduced to the proportions of a mere police force.

On Friday, the 25th of February, the subject of a national thanksgiving for the success of the British arms in India, was introduced to the House of Lords by the Duke of Marlborough, who asked whether, in the opinion of her majesty's government, the time had not arrived for a public thanksgiving for the successes which God in his mercy had granted to the British army in India, on the suppression of the late rebellion? He referred to the successes which had followed the late Fast on the subject of the war, as a proof of the efficacy of such a mode of procedure.—In reply to the observations of his grace, the Earl of Derby said, that he was not one of those who lightly considered or disregarded the idea of the interposition of a higher Power than that of man in the ordering of human affairs. He most cordially agreed with the noble duke in believing, and every day confirmed him more strongly in the conviction, not only with regard to Indian, but to all other affairs, that however we might shape our human courses, we were little able to carry them to any result without the aid of a higher Power. He thought that the blessing of God had been singularly manifest in the distressing affairs of India. From the very first moment, down to the present time, there had been many instances in which neither the skill of our generals nor the bravery of our troops would have been able to command success, had it not been for the interposition of Almighty Power. He agreed with the speech from the throne, in believing that the time was not far distant when her majesty might be able to announce, as she could not then, the complete subjugation of India. When that time should come, neither parliament nor the sovereign,

while, on the one hand, they would honour those through whose human aid it had been brought about, would be slow, on the other, in ascribing the glory and praise where it was due. But he could not say that he thought that the time had come either for honouring those who were concerned in staying the rebellion, or for any public manifestation of thanks to Providence. He thought that it would be more suitable to the occasion, to wait until there was a complete subjugation of the revolt, and until they had again restored in India the inestimable blessings of tranquillity and peace.

The affairs of India continued to engage the attention of both houses of parliament from the commencement of the session; and on the 18th of March, the Marquis of Clanricarde moved for a copy of the answer of the governor-general to the secret despatch of the 19th of April, 1858,\* with the reply of the secretary of state, and subsequent correspondence on the subject. He also asked for information as to the tenure under which the landowners in Oude then held their estates; and expressed his opinion, that from the nature of recent proceedings in Oude, the governor-general had not receded from the policy of his despatch of March, 1858; since, although sparingly, yet confiscations had been in some cases enforced.—In reply to this, Lord Derby vindicated the course pursued by the government of India, and said that Lord Canning had not changed his policy, but had modified it; for, instead of confiscations being made the rule (as the proclamation would have led the people to believe), they had been the exceptions. The noble earl further stated, that her majesty's government had the greatest confidence in Lord Canning, as was shown by the tone of their despatches, and by their having recommended him to her majesty—who had already conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Bath—for advancement in the peerage. With regard to the tenure of the land in Oude, there had been no re-grant from the crown, but it was held under the terms of the proclamation of amnesty and forgiveness; and in that manner the proprietors had entered on their original property, from which, in 1857, they had been expelled. The production of the papers moved for, would not be opposed.

To the two first of these documents reference has already been made; the third, moved for, being the reply of Lord Stanley,

\* See *ante*, pp. 479; 501; 506.

as secretary of state for India, to Lord Canning's vindication of his policy; which, under date of December 9th, 1858, was as follows:—

"My Lord,—Your lordship's despatches, No. 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ , to the secret committee of the East India Company, dated the 17th of June, and No. 17A, of the 4th of July,\* to the Court of Directors (in the foreign department), having been considered by her majesty's government, I now proceed to offer such remarks upon them as they appear to demand.

"The first of these despatches is a reply to the letter of the secret committee of the 19th of April, commenting upon the proclamation issued on the 3rd of March to the talookdars and other landholders of Oude, after the reoccupation of Lucknow by British troops; the second is in reply to the letter of the Court of Directors of the 18th of May, covering a resolution of confidence in your lordship, passed by the court on the 10th of that month. In both of these despatches you explain and vindicate the course of policy which you adopted in issuing the above-mentioned proclamation to the landholders of Oude.

"I do not propose to follow, paragraph by paragraph, the elaborate arguments contained in these letters. They have been considered with the attention which was due to the high character and the distinguished position of your lordship; and I observe with satisfaction that the policy indicated in the document adverted to, as regards the claims of the talookdars and other proprietors in Oude, has not in practice been adopted by you, and is declared, on your own authority, never to have been intended to have been carried into effect. However indiscriminate and unsparing may have been the sentence of confiscation which your proclamation pronounced, that sentence has not been put in force; and the issuing of it would appear to have been merely a menace, designed to strike awe into the minds of those still arrayed in arms against the British government.

"Though anxious to support your authority, and to regard in the most favourable point of view any explanation of your public conduct which you might have to offer, her majesty's government cannot alter their previously expressed opinion with regard to the policy which, in this instance, you have pursued. They cannot think it wise for a

government, either in Asia or in Europe, to utter threats on which it is not meant to act; and they apprehend that the tendency of such threats, when addressed to insurgents in arms, is to drive into desperate and hopeless resistance some, at least, of those who might be induced to submit by an invitation couched in more lenient terms. They are, however, glad to receive, and ready implicitly to accept, your assertion that the practical effect produced upon the minds of the people has been but small. They learn with satisfaction, that the personal explanations, to which you refer as having been given by your desire through the officers of your government, have dispelled the alarm which its contents were likely to excite. And the whole tenor of your lordship's administration in India, and the moderation of language and of action which you have known how to preserve in circumstances of unusual difficulty and universal excitement, confirm, if confirmation were needed, the assurance which you have given of your intention to deal in a spirit of mercy and justice with those whose rights appeared to be imperilled by the language of your official declaration.

"While her majesty's government adhere to the opinion expressed by them respecting that declaration, it seems to them needless further to comment on a document which has been practically cancelled by yourself; and whilst regretting what they cannot but consider as a mistaken act on your part, they desire publicly to express their full approval of your general policy, and their confident hope that the measures taken by you for the suppression of insurrection in India, will at no distant period lead to the entire pacification of that country.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STANLEY."

On the same evening, in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell said, that as it appeared from all the accounts received from India, that the pacification of Oude had been effected, and that, generally speaking, the revolt had been put down throughout India; he wished to know if it was intended to propose to that house to give a vote of thanks to the governor-general of India, to the distinguished general in command of the troops, and to the other officers, civil and military, who had assisted in the great and glorious event of the pacification of India. His lordship then deprecated the mode in which the government had acted

\* See ante, p. 506.



in reference to the governor-general, and said it was with pain and astonishment he had read the despatch of the 9th of December, which appeared, by its cold and sneering tone, to convey a distrust which her majesty's ministers did not think fit, for some reason or other, openly to express. That despatch had consequently suggested a doubt whether it was the intention of the government to do justice to Lord Canning for his high services in the suppression of the mutiny. He hoped he was mistaken in the conclusion he had arrived at, and that, on the contrary, it was the intention of the government to propose a vote of thanks to the governor-general, to Lord Clyde, and to the other officers who had distinguished themselves. With respect to Lord Clyde, he said no man could entertain the least doubt that any difficulty would be felt; for no man, in a military position, had acted with greater vigour, decision, and judgment; and he trusted the gallant general might return, and long wear, in this country, the laurels he had gained in Hindostan.—Mr. Kiinnaird said, that as the dreadful events of the mutiny were over, there was a general expectation abroad, that some distinguished mark of merit would be given to Sir John Lawrence. The late government of India had actually made a provision for sustaining any honour that might be conferred upon him, by voting him a pension; and he considered there would be a general feeling of disappointment if the man who was considered the saviour of India had not some mark of favour from the crown bestowed upon him.

Lord Stanley, in reply to the last speaker, assured the house that the government fully recognised the great services rendered by Sir John Lawrence; but he could not admit that no recognition of those services had taken place. Sir John Lawrence had

been promoted from the rank of commissioner to that of lieutenant-governor—had received the thanks of the house, a baronetcy, the Grand Cross of the Bath, a special pension of £2,000 a-year, in addition to the pension to which he was entitled by right as a retired member of the civil service; and, moreover, held for life, if he so pleased, a seat in the council for India. He hoped that Sir John Lawrence's career might not yet be considered as closed, and that some future government might, if that distinguished individual did not return to England, still avail themselves of his services in India. With respect to the question of the noble lord, he might state, that it was the intention of the government to propose to that house a vote of thanks to those who, whether in a civil or military capacity, had taken a prominent part in the pacification of India. In that vote both the governor-general of India and Lord Clyde would be included.\* He considered it inconvenient at that time to reopen the discussion on Lord Canning's proclamation, the issue of which had already been fully debated. At the proper time he should be ready to vindicate the course taken by government; and if ever the debate should be resumed, he believed it would be attended with the same result.†

Lord Palmerston animadverted upon the language of the secretary of state for India, in replying to the observations of Lord John Russell. He said his noble friend did not revert to the debates of the last year, and did not advert to the policy of the government in India; but he did make some pointed observations on that which struck with pain every man who read the document alluded to. His noble friend, the member for London, had observed on the taste and the feeling—to say no more—of that despatch which the noble lord, the

\* The question of honorary distinction for meritorious service in the field, had become a subject of frequent consideration in the highest quarters; and, as the year 1859 progressed, the *London Gazette* was redolent of notices of royal favours personally bestowed upon surviving heroes of the Indian war. Among the brave recipients of that much-coveted badge of the order of valour, the Victoria Cross, the son of the lamented Havelock now held conspicuous rank. This young officer, in August, 1857, was a lieutenant in the 10th regiment, in the Company's service, being also aide-de-camp to his father. He had now, within two years, attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and on the 9th of June, 1859, the official list of officers and others, upon whom her majesty, on the preceding day, had personally con-

ferred the distinction of the Victoria Cross, contained the following paragraph:—"To Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry Marsham Havelock, Baronet, late lieutenant 19th foot (now 18th foot), for leading on the 64th regiment to the capture of the last reserved gun, a 24-pounder, at Cawnpore, 18th August, 1857." (See *ante*, p. 28). A mark of royal favour was also bestowed upon Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, assistant-commissioner of Oude; who was presented to her majesty at a *levée* on the 25th of June; and, on the 8th of July, the *Gazette* announced, that the proud distinction of the Victoria Cross had also been conferred upon him, for services rendered in connexion with the relief of Lucknow. See his narrative of adventure in Nov., 1857 (pp. 84—86).

† *Vide ante*, pp. 481, 482.

secretary for India, had thought it consistent with his duty to send to Lord Canning; and the noble lord must not be allowed to escape from those remarks by endeavouring to revert to the discussions of last year. He (Lord Palmerston) deeply regretted that the noble lord should have thought it befitting his position, as a minister of the crown, to write a sneering, taunting, ironical despatch to Lord Canning, in answer to explanations which every man might read with admiration. He would now say nothing as to the concealment of those explanations for many months, during which, they lay in the office of the noble lord.\* At last they came out; and no man who read them could avoid entertaining sentiments very different from those expressed in the despatch of Lord Stanley.

In reply to a subsequent question—whether the despatch of the 9th of December† had been submitted to the Indian council for consideration before its transmission to Lord Canning?—Lord Stanley said the despatch had been communicated to the council for their information, but it had been sent, like the previous correspondence, by the secret committee. The subject was again mooted in the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, when Lord Stanley distinctly stated, that the despatch in ques-

tion was sent out upon the responsibility of the secretary of state (himself) alone. It was shown to the members of the council before it was sent out, but it was not submitted to them for consideration; nor did they express any opinion upon it, or protest against it.

The matter did not end here; as, on the 25th of the month, Mr. Salisbury, the member for Chester, returned to the charge, and after asking some questions as to the precise date of the arrival of Lord Canning's despatch of the 17th of June, 1858, and for any memorandums of the council on the despatch of the 9th of December—said, he was influenced by no party or personal motives in putting such questions. He had entertained a decided objection to the Oude proclamation, and was also hostile to what was called the Cardwell resolution of last year;‡ but he had been greatly pained at the terms in which the noble lord's despatch to Lord Canning was couched. He would not say that despatch was insolent, but it was certainly a most injudicious document to be addressed by the minister of the crown in this country, to a nobleman filling the high and distinguished and difficult position which Lord Canning occupied in India. He had been credibly informed that the despatch of Lord Canning,

\* As a specimen of the somnolent influences of the Indian secretariat, under the control of Lord Stanley, the following despatch from Lord Canning to the Court of Directors—in which he vindicated his council in India from some comments unfavourable to it, which had been made in this country—may be adduced. The despatch, it will be observed, bears date July 6th, 1858; but it was not until Saturday, March 19th, 1859, that it was allowed to disturb the repose of the home government of India, by publicity. Such a document, upon such a subject, ought not to have been suppressed unnecessarily for a day, much less for seven months! But it may be observed, that as a rule, all matters of explanation from India were subjected to a like system of procrastination, and that, by accident or design, few documents of the kind were published in this country until public interest in the subject of them had nearly subsided.

*"To the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

"Home Department, Allahabad, July 6th, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—It has caused me much regret and pain to observe, that upon more than one occasion during the recent discussions in parliament upon Indian affairs, it has been alleged that the governor-general has not received from the members of the council of India, that decided and effective support which, in the difficulties by which the government of the country has been surrounded, he might have expected to receive.

"2. This has been expressed in different terms; but, however expressed, it is so contrary to fact, and so unjust to those with whom, as colleagues, I have had the pleasure and advantage to act, that I trust I may be allowed to place on record my distinct denial of the allegation.

"3. A general charge can be met only by a general denial; and were the charge directed against myself, I should not have troubled your honourable court with any notice of it. But it is directed against others whom I best can vindicate; and therefore I desire to say, that the support which I received from my honourable colleagues, all and each, from the first beginning of the mutinies up to the time when I left Calcutta and became separated from the council, was constant and zealous, and that it was uniformly given with that frankness and independence of judgment, without which co-operation in council is worthless.

"4. I am the more anxious to say this, because, since I left Calcutta, two most valuable servants of your honourable court—my respected friends Major-general Low and Mr. Dorin—have retired from the council of India, and returned to England.

"5. Their final separation from the government of India, makes it especially incumbent upon the head of that government to be careful that no injustice which it is in his power to avert, shall be done to their past honourable service.—I have, &c.

"CANNING."

† See ante, p. 644.

‡ See ante, p. 482.



dated the 17th of June, was received in this country before parliament was prorogued last session. He had also been credibly informed that the despatch of the 9th of December had been submitted to the Indian council, and that, although no positive declaration might have been made to the noble lord against the terms of that despatch, the council had put a minute or memorandum upon their books, declaring that, in their opinion, that despatch ought not to be sent out to the governor-general of India.

Lord Stanley, after making some observations as to the divisions and functions of the council for India, said, that Lord Canning's despatch of the 17th of June was received in London on the 2nd of August, but it did not reach his hands until the 3rd or 4th of August, at which time the session had closed, and it was not in his power to lay the document before parliament.\* With regard to any memorandum or minute of council on the despatch of the 9th of December, asked for by the honourable member, the only paper that answered in the slightest degree to the description of those referred to by him, was a minute of the political committee, to whom the draught despatch was in the first instance referred. It was suggested, however, that as all the other correspondence on the subject had taken place through the secret department, it was desirable that the same course should still be pursued; and upon that suggestion he had acted. He sent the despatch through the secret department, and it never was brought by him before the council. He had stated on Monday evening, in reply to a question which was put to him without notice, that no protest had been made against the despatch. That was strictly and literally the case. No protest in any form had been recorded against it; and if he had had an opportunity of considering his answer, he would have said, that from the form in which the despatch went out, the opinion of the council was not taken upon it, and that, therefore, no opportunity for any protest was afforded. He had stated, in reply to the question to which he referred, that the despatch was sent out through the secret department, and upon the responsibility of the secretary of state alone; and, as he had already observed, the only paper which answered the description of

the honourable gentleman, was an extract from the minutes of the political committee, stating that the draught of the despatch was read and approved without any further explanation. With regard to the despatch itself, which was the subject of these questions, he thought the house would not expect him to enter upon a defence of so important a document on the present occasion. He would, however, take that opportunity of stating, most plainly and distinctly, that nothing was further from his mind, either at the moment of writing that document—for he was responsible for it—or at any other time, than to take any step which would give personal offence to, or wound the feelings of, Lord Canning. If it were considered that such was the effect of the document in question, he could only say that he regretted it, and did not intend it. At the same time, the expression of opinion contained in that despatch was deliberately formed, and as deliberately asserted; and he thought, that upon such a matter—a question of policy—it was the duty of the government, holding the opinions they entertained upon the subject, to take care that their views were fully and unequivocally conveyed to Lord Canning, as a public officer, for whose conduct her majesty's servants were responsible to the country.

The subject of Indian finance was again brought before parliament on the 25th of March, when Lord Derby, in reply to some observations of the Earl of Ellenborough, said, he regretted that the Indian finances were not so prosperous as could be wished, and was sorry to inform the house that it would be necessary, forthwith, to ask parliament for power to raise a further sum for Indian purposes. His lordship then proceeded to explain the correspondence which had taken place between the governor-general and her majesty's government, on the subject of these financial difficulties; and observed, that a deficit of £11,500,000, in round numbers, had to be provided for. Deducting £1,000,000 that would shortly be forwarded to India, there would remain £10,500,000, which would be further reduced by another million from a reserve fund of £12,000,000. This would leave £9,500,000, which the governor-general proposed to reduce to £8,000,000, by imposing a slight tax on imports, stamps, and home-grown tobacco. These eight millions were to be paid off by a loan in India of £5,000,000, and the governor-general

\* Parliament was prorogued by commission on Monday, the 2nd of August, 1858.

looked to this country to forward £3,000,000 in addition to what had been already forwarded. Under these circumstances, her majesty's government had come to the conclusion that it would be necessary to ask for leave to raise a further sum than the £7,000,000 at first contemplated. What the exact sum would be he could not yet say; it would be at least £3,000,000, and perhaps £5,000,000. This was exclusive of prize-money and compensation. Looking to the effects of railways in India, he concluded that the gloomy state of Indian finances would soon assume a brighter hue; and he deprecated any attacks on the government because they had not at once asked for the whole of the sum since found to be necessary, as it had been impossible for the home government to anticipate the present demand.

On the 28th of March, certain papers connected with the Indian financial question, were issued by order of the House of Lords. These consisted of copies of despatches from the governor-general in council, to the secretary of state for India, of the 26th of January and 5th of February, 1859, relative to Indian finances; and of despatches in reply. In a despatch of the 16th of March, Lord Stanley informed the governor-general that he could not refrain from observing, that his requisition for an immediate supply of bullion from this country, without a previous indication of his contemplating such a step, appeared to furnish evidence of some want of foresight on the part of those officers of the local government to whom the financial arrangements were entrusted: and observed, that the disposition to look to this country as a certain resource for supplies of specie, could not too strongly be discountenanced. His lordship dismissed a proposal for the remittance of bullion "at once," as one that could not be entertained; and added, that her majesty's government, after the fullest consideration, were inclined to recommend, that if further measures should prove to be absolutely necessary, the preferable course to follow might be, to open a six per cent. loan, payable at the option of government in five or six years, for a fixed and specified amount, and to state distinctly that the loan will be closed immediately that amount is subscribed. There was an important addendum, however, to this despatch, which disposed of one of the previous statements. This addendum was as follows:—

"Since this despatch was written, I have received your letter dated the 5th of February, No. 19, earnestly soliciting that further remittances of bullion, to the amount of two crores, in addition to the requisition already complied with, may be forwarded without delay; one crore to arrive in the course of April or May, and the other as soon afterwards as it can be dispatched. Her majesty's government have learned with deep regret the state of your financial prospects, which have forced you to make this further requisition, which it is most inconvenient to meet, provision not having been made for such large demands in the loan about to be contracted here under the authority of parliament; yet, under all the circumstances, they do not feel that they can decline to comply with it, at least to the extent of remitting a second million of bullion. Measures will accordingly be taken for sending another million, to arrive, if possible, in the course of the month of May, and in the proportion of one-third to Bombay, and two-thirds to Calcutta. If indispensable, and in the event of my not meanwhile receiving more favourable accounts, a further supply of bullion will be remitted to you within the limit of a third crore. Her majesty's government are glad to see, from your present letter, that you are considering the practicability of introducing new measures of taxation, which are so urgently needed to meet the increased payments which will have to be made, even after the necessity for carrying on extraordinary military operations shall have ceased.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STANLEY."

Lord Stanley wished also to strongly impress upon the governor-general the fact, that any efforts that could be made in this country with a view to obviate financial embarrassment in India, must inevitably be of little avail, unless the necessity for increasing the local income, and for effecting a large reduction of expenditure, was kept steadily in view, and measures founded thereon were promptly carried into effect.

A copy of a despatch from the secretary of state for India, to the governor-general, was issued, with other parliamentary papers, on the 30th of March. In this paper, two recent petitions from missionaries, relative to the connection of the government of India with native worship, were referred to; and Lord Stanley stated, that in the opinion of her majesty's government, the repeal of



the regulations of the Bengal and Madras codes, by which the general superintendence of lands granted for the support of mosques and temples was vested in the officers of the government, should no longer be delayed, provision being made at the same time for an appeal to the established courts of justice in all disputes relating to the appointment and succession to the management of Hindoo and Mohammedan religious institutions, and to the control and application of their funds; and Lord Canning was requested to take the necessary steps for bringing the subject under the consideration of the legislative council. Upon one of the petitions his lordship thus remarked:—

“In presenting the petition for a legislative enactment to suppress cruel and inhuman practices at the Churruck Poojah, the member for the Lower Provinces of Bengal referred to an opinion of the Court of Directors, to the effect that endeavours for the suppression of the cruelties of the festival should be based on the exertion of influence rather than upon any act of authority. In accordance with this view, her majesty’s government would be disposed to leave the remedy, as suggested by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, to the progress of education and its legitimate effects, were any hope held out of the discontinuance, within a reasonable time, of these public exhibitions of cruelty. Of this, however, there seems to be but little prospect, so long as those who engage in them are left in ignorance of the light in which such exhibitions are viewed by the government. In the presidency of Bombay, the practice of hook-swinging has been suppressed by order of the government, and (according to the reports of the district magistrates) without any dissatisfaction on the part of the general population. In the Madras presidency, the sense of government has been marked by the insertion, as opportunity occurred, in sunnuds for lands appropriated to the support of religious festivals, of a clause declaring that forfeiture will follow any repetition of the practice of hook-swinging; and in several parts of the presidency the practice has entirely ceased. It is in Bengal chiefly that the revolting ceremonies connected with the festival most extensively prevail, and that the efforts made to discountenance them have been attended with the least success. Although the suppression of a cruel and demoralising public spectacle

is a fit subject for legislation, it is not the intention of her majesty’s government, in the foregoing remarks, to press upon you any immediate legislative interference in the matter. It appears to them, however, that the lieutenant-governor of Bengal might be instructed to take advantage of such opportunities as may occur, of discountenancing the practice as far as in his power. Possibly a provision, hostile to the cruelties of the festival, may be inserted in leases of government lands, or of lands under the management of government officers; the sympathies of influential landed proprietors, and other members of the native community, may be enlisted in the same direction; and other means, such as will often be found in the course of official administration, may also be taken of making known the views of the public authorities in regard to such exhibitions, without causing alarm as to the intentions of the government, or producing dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. Should such measures fail to produce any perceptible diminution of the practice, it will then be necessary to consider whether the government is not called upon to take more decided steps for putting an end to observances so flagrantly opposed to the dictates of common humanity.”

On the 31st of March, a division took place in the House of Commons upon the government Reform Bill, which resulted in a majority of 39 against ministers; 626 members out of 656 (the full roll of the house) being present. After taking some time for consideration, her majesty’s servants determined to appeal to the country rather than resign office; and, on the 5th of April, an announcement to that effect was made to the House of Lords by the Earl of Derby, who characterised the opposition to the rejected measure of reform, as factious and unconstitutional, and asserted, that the government had been defeated, “not by fair parliamentary opposition, but by an ingenious manoeuvre.”

On the 4th of April, in the House of Commons, a motion for the third reading of the East India Loan Bill was submitted, when Lord Stanley stated that it would be necessary to make a demand upon parliament for larger borrowing powers for India, than he had originally contemplated; but he was not then prepared to go into details upon the subject. A short discussion on the general financial affairs of India followed; and ultimately the bill was read a third

time, and passed. Upon its arrival in the Lords, Lord Derby, on the 7th of April, stated that the house must look upon the sum to be raised by it as a grant on account, which it was necessary to obtain before the dissolution of parliament; but that a further sum of £5,000,000 would be required. The bill passed the House of Lords, and received the royal assent on Friday, the 8th of April, 1859.

A supplement to the *London Gazette*, of Tuesday, April 12th, contained the following notification of a day of thanksgiving for the success of the British army in India:—

“At the court at Buckingham Palace, the 12th day of April, 1859, present, the Queen’s most excellent majesty in council.

“It is this day ordered by her majesty in council, that his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare a form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the constant and signal success obtained by the troops of her majesty, and by the whole of the forces serving in India, whereby the late sanguinary mutiny and rebellion which had broken out in that country hath been effectually suppressed, and the blessings of tranquillity, order, and peace are restored to her majesty’s subjects in the East; and it is ordered that such form of prayer and thanksgiving be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, upon Sunday, the 1st day of May next.

“And it is hereby further ordered, that her majesty’s printer do forthwith print a competent number of copies of the said form of prayer and thanksgiving, in order that the same may be forthwith sent round and read in the several churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

“WM. L. BATHURST.”

A similar order was also made extending to Scotland.

At length, the period arrived when it was felt no longer necessary to delay an expression of the nation’s gratitude, through parliament, to the great men by whose wisdom, energy, and valour, India had been preserved to the British crown; and, in accordance with a notice previously given, the Earl of Derby, on Thursday, April 14th, moved, in the House of Lords, that a vote of thanks should be given to the governor-general of India, the commander-in-chief, and the other officers, civil and military,

and to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, both European and native, of the Indian army: and seldom had there been presented to the notice of parliament a finer theme for an orator capable of rising to the spirit of a great occasion. His lordship said, he rejoiced to inform the house that the rebellion was completely crushed; and that the time had now come to thank those who, under Providence, had contributed to the gratifying result; and said, the first person to whom he would propose a vote of thanks was the governor-general, Lord Canning. The noble lord then proceeded to address their lordships as follows:—

“In order to appreciate the services which have been rendered by her majesty’s viceroy, the governor-general, Viscount Canning, it is only right that your lordships should bear in mind what were the circumstances under which that noble lord assumed his present onerous and arduous task. Immediately upon that noble lord’s arrival in India, disaffection began to manifest itself in that country. A spirit was breaking out which had for a considerable time been smouldering, and perhaps overlooked and neglected; and just at the period when the noble lord undertook the duties of his arduous office, he was encountered by a sudden explosion. That outbreak occurred at a time when he was necessarily unacquainted with many of the circumstances of the country which he was about to govern. That explosion took him by surprise, and he was obliged to seek for counsel from those who had had the greatest experience in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lord Canning, on his first arrival, did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the danger by which he was surrounded; but from the time—and it was not long—when he became alive to the perils with which our empire in India was threatened, he applied, in grappling with the difficulties which he foresaw, and the dangers which he encountered, all the powers of a powerful mind, and all the faculties of an active and energetic disposition. He applied himself sedulously, diligently, and earnestly to the encountering of the great dangers by which he found himself surrounded. It is true that the noble viscount, from first to last, has pursued sagaciously, steadily, and resolutely, a consistent course—that he has never permitted his mind to be thrown off its balance by representations of exaggerated fears on the one hand, or by extravagant and



passionate resentment on the other. He has carefully and steadily watched the course of events. He has left untried nothing which could be done by indefatigable industry, by constant assiduity, and by a most patient attention to all the details of business, and all the means by which this great revolt might be encountered. He has been constant in his communications, and, I say it emphatically, most friendly in his intercourse with the commander-in-chief of her majesty's forces. He has had the happiness and the credit of solving the difficult problem which had been left to him to solve; he has brought the characteristic spirit of an English gentleman to the sagacity of a statesman. I think that your lordships will agree with me, that the period having arrived at which the noble viscount has successfully accomplished this great undertaking, your lordships and the other house of parliament ought not to grudge him the tribute of praise and thanks involved in the motion which I am now submitting; and your lordships will doubtless concur with me, that her majesty could not have chosen a more grateful or more fitting opportunity than the time at which the two houses of parliament are thus testifying their gratitude for his distinguished services, for manifesting her own sense of those services by conferring upon the noble viscount the dignity of a British earl."

Lord Derby then eulogised the services of Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, as only second to those of Lord Canning; and then referred to the eminent services of Sir John Lawrence and his distinguished brother, in the following terms:—"I hope that noble lords connected with the military service will not consider that I am treating them with disrespect, or that I am improperly postponing the consideration of their claims to the public thanks of parliament, if, following the order of the resolutions which have been placed upon your lordships' table, I first refer to those civilians who have distinguished themselves by their services during the period of this revolt. The first name to which I have to call your attention is one than which none is better known or more highly honoured in India. Two illustrious brothers have borne that name with the highest credit, and with the noblest distinction. One of them, unhappily, is no more. He has fallen in the active service of his country—fallen, unfortunately, too early to receive an intimation

of the honours which his sovereign and parliament were prepared to bestow upon him. The other still survives; and I rejoice to think that Sir John Lawrence, who has arrived in this country within the course of the last few days, will have returned in time personally to know the appreciation of his services entertained by the country and by parliament; that he will be enabled, as a member of the Indian council, to give the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of important and arduous duties; and that he will see how heartily parliament appreciates that devoted attention to the public business which he ever displayed, and that firm courage and dauntless resolution with which, with the very insufficient means at his disposal, he met and sternly put down every appearance of disturbance in a district but newly acquired to the British empire—how by the very terror and awe inspired by his name, and by the respect due to his character, he not only altogether suppressed every symptom of revolt in that wild and newly-acquired district, but made his word law throughout that country, and made that country another England, pouring forth its supplies and reinforcements for the purpose of quelling the dangerous mutiny now happily extinguished."

His lordship then proceeded to recount the claims of Messrs. Frere and Montgomery, and of Sir Richard Hamilton, to the thanks of the country, for their able administration of extensive provinces (Scinde, Oude, and Central India), and for the conciliatory policy pursued by them, which had led to the most gratifying results, and for which her majesty had evinced her appreciation by conferring on the two first-named the distinction of civil Knights Commanders of the order of the Bath. He then said—"In turning from the civil to the military branch of the service, and in asking your lordships to give the thanks of the house to those gallant officers whose names are contained in the resolutions upon the table, I am aware—and I rejoice that it is so—that I shall not have to call your lordships' attention to any circumstances of such deep and thrilling interest, and of such painful excitement, as those which were commemorated on the last occasion, when a vote of thanks was proposed in this house. We have had, thank God! during the last year, or year and a-half, to record no such horrors as the massacre of Cawnpore—no

such atrocities as those that were committed before the siege of Delhi. We have not had to watch with that painful anxiety with which, day by day, during the progress of that memorable siege, we waited to see whether it was possible that success could crown efforts made with means so disproportionate to the opposition which they had to encounter. Nor have I to relate to your lordships the painful interest with which we received, mail by mail, the accounts of that marvellous advance of the lamented Havelock. We have not had to speculate in agonising suspense over the probable fate of the garrison of Lucknow, or to thrill with satisfaction at their first and temporary relief—to have our hopes again dashed by the news that the garrison was still beleaguered; and, at length, to have them crowned with satisfaction by the announcement of the final and complete relief of that heroic garrison. From objects of such thrilling interest—from events occasioning such deep anxiety, the statement which I have now to make to your lordships will be altogether free. It will relate, indeed, to occurrences with regard to which the public expectation has been aroused: but that expectation can scarcely be said to have taken the form of anxiety; for since the earlier days of the period to which I am about to refer, one unbroken chain of success has characterised our arms—success engendering confidence; and, to such an extent, that the slightest check has been regarded rather as an unlooked-for disappointment by the public, than as what might be anticipated from the nature of the struggle in which we have been engaged. Happily, also, the period to which I refer has not been marked by that lamentable loss of distinguished lives which characterised the early period of this revolt. Doubtless, many have fallen who have left a fearful gap in their own families and private circles—many who, if they had been spared, might have risen to the greatest eminence, and have held the highest stations in the public service; but of those who have filled a place in the eye of the country, there are comparatively few who have been cut off during the present year. Three there are, to whom your lordships will permit me to refer, by whose premature death the country has sustained the deepest loss. Mention has been already made in this house—but this is an occasion on which that mention may well be repeated—of the distinguished services of the late

lamented Sir William Peel. To a bravery which almost verged on rashness, to a determination which bordered on the heroic, he joined those high qualities of frankness of disposition, openness of manner, cordiality of feeling, and great private virtue, which endeared him to his own friends and those who immediately surrounded him, as much as his public character entitled him to the respect and admiration of his country. Two others there were of a somewhat different character, in whose premature death India, at all events, has sustained a most serious loss. I allude to two men, both of them models of chiefs of irregular forces, which they themselves had formed and disciplined from among tribes and natives who had not long before been our enemies, over whom by their valour, their rigid discipline, and at the same time by their careful attention to their real wants, comforts, desires, and even prejudices, they had obtained an influence which was all but marvellous, and which enabled them to lead their troops, so formed and disciplined, into any danger and into any conflict with as much confidence as if they had been British soldiers. One of these men has met a soldier's death; the other, unhappily, has succumbed under labours which were too great even for his vast powers; but it will be long before the people of India, I am sure it will be long before the Punjab and Scinde, will lose the memory of Hodson's Guides and Jacob's Horse. With these exceptions, the list of those heroic men who have fallen in the service of their country since last year, is happily small. I turn with satisfaction to the more pleasing task of commemorating and recording the services of those who are still to receive the reward of their distinguished valour. I need say nothing in this house of the merits of Lord Clyde. His former services spoke trumpet-tongued for themselves; and his career in India, throughout, has thoroughly vindicated the high military character with which, at a moment's notice, he went out to that country at the call of his sovereign. Cool and cautious in coming to a determination, to such an extent that superficial critics ventured to put upon him the charge of slowness—always eager and anxious to spare the lives and labour of his men—unsparing, even to recklessness, of his own energies—wary in forming his plans—sagacious in making his combinations—he was determined not to strike before the time came for striking an effectual blow;



but, when that time came, the blow was struck, and it was with the full force of an entire campaign. He knew when to strike; and those whom he encountered found that he knew how to strike."

The noble lord then proceeded briefly to recapitulate the principal events of the campaign; in the course of which he recounted, graphically and eulogistically, the services of Major-general Mansfield (the chief of the staff), and of Sir James Outram, Sir T. H. Franks, Sir Archdale Wilson, Sir R. Napier, Sir E. Lugard, Sir Hope Grant, Brigadier-general Walpole, Sir Hugh Rose, Major-general Roberts, Major-general Whitlock, and Sir J. Michel; and he then called upon the house for a vote of thanks to the officers and men of the Indian army, as also to the men of the naval brigade, and their gallant commander, Captain Sotheby, and to such seamen and marines as had rendered important service in India. In conclusion, his lordship again congratulated the house on the restoration of tranquillity; and declared that, in Oude alone, 1,000 forts had been captured and destroyed, and 480 cannon, and a million stand of arms, had been taken. As far as military operations were concerned, he said he considered our task in India was accomplished; but a far more formidable one awaited us, seeing that it was now the duty of the British government to subjugate the hearts and affections, as well as the persons, of the people of India, by restoring to them the blessings of good government, by seeking their moral and social progress, by developing the resources of the country, by administering justice fairly and temperately; and, by such means, to satisfy the natives that it was not only their fate, but their interest, to remain true to their allegiance.

The noble earl concluded an eloquent and impressive speech, by moving the following resolution for the adoption of the House:—

"1. That the thanks of this house be given to the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, G.C.B., her majesty's viceroy and governor-general of India; the Right Hon. Lord Elphinstone, G.C.B., governor of the presidency of Bombay; Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B., late lieutenant-governor of the Punjab; Sir Robert North Collie Hamilton, Bart., agent to the governor-general in Central India; Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Esq., commissioner of Scinde; Robert Montgomery, Esq., late chief commissioner in Oude; for the ability with which they have severally employed the resources at their disposal for the re-establishment of peace in her majesty's Indian dominions.—2. That the thanks of this

house be given to General the Right Hon. Lord Clyde, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in India; Lieutenant-general Sir James Outram, Bart., G.C.B.; Major-general Sir Hugh Henry Rose, G.C.B.; Major-general Henry Gee Roberts, Major-general George Cornish Whitlock, Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., K.C.B.; Major-general Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir William Rose Mansfield, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir Thomas Harte Franks, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir John Michel, K.C.B.; Brigadier-general Robert Walpole, C.B.; Brigadier-general Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B.; for the eminent skill, courage, and perseverance displayed by them during the military operations by which the late insurrection in India has been effectually suppressed.—3. That the thanks of this house be given to the other gallant officers of her majesty's army and navy, and also of her majesty's Indian forces, for the intrepidity, zeal, and endurance evinced by them in the arduous operations of the late Indian campaign.—4. That this house doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour, self-devotion, and brilliant services of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, both European and native, who have taken part in the suppression of the recent disturbances in India; and that the same be signified to them by the commanders of their several corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour."

Lord Granville expressed the satisfaction which Lord Derby's full and accurate statement had afforded him. With singular pleasure he had heard the just and deserved compliment to the governor-general of India—a compliment which buried in oblivion all the former discussions on Lord Canning's conduct in the late terrible crisis. The conduct of the governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, was beyond all praise, in the fearlessness with which he had assumed the heavy responsibility of denuding himself of troops, in order to supply the more pressing exigencies of other parts of India. After high praise of the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants, whose names had become household words in every cottage, he expressed his regret that it was impossible, from the precedents of the house, to include, in the present motion, the names of those whom death had removed. He of course alluded to such names as Havelock, Neill, Peel, and Henry Lawrence. He considered that the sanguine views which he had ever held as to the suppression of the rebellion, had been confirmed by the statement of Lord Derby as to the tranquillity of India. And if such was the case, it was now our duty to look to the social improvement of the country which had been reconquered by our efforts. He cordially supported the motion of Lord Derby.—The Duke of Cambridge said, that though it would be almost invidious, where

all had done so well, to bring particular names prominently forward, he still considered that the various brigadiers at the head of small columns, had deserved well of their country; and could not forbear expressing the high sense which he entertained of the services of Brigadiers Jones, Walpole, Horsford, Barker, Showers, Hope, and many others. It would be superfluous and preposterous for him to echo the praises of Lord Clyde, whose deeds were known not only throughout England, but over the whole continent. Never had a campaign, carried on by small movable columns, been so ably conducted. He expressed a high opinion of the abilities of Sir W. Mansfield, and the determination of Sir Hugh Rose and Sir J. Michel. The native troops, as well as the Europeans, had nobly done their duty; nor could he pass over in silence the efficiency of the commissariat. In speaking of the very great services of Sir John Lawrence, he would not omit the name of Sir Sidney Cotton, of whom he spoke most favourably. In reducing the number of troops in India, he trusted there would be no undue haste, but that due care would be taken for the exigencies of the public service.—Lord Ellenborough protested against the clubbing together the name of the governor-general of India with those of his subordinates, although they might be even governors of provinces. As the whole responsibility was with the governor-general, if he failed, so he should have his full meed of praise if he succeeded; and it was his opinion that the merits of the governor-general should be specified in a distinct vote. He found the same objection with the military vote; and thought that a distinction should have been made between Lord Clyde and his lieutenants. His object in addressing the house was to call attention to the merits of the troops; for the generals could not have done what they had done with troops of inferior mettle. In the highest terms he praised the qualities of the British soldiers, and declared that he knew of no war in which troops had displayed so much perseverance, pertinacity, and fortitude, under great sufferings and unparalleled difficulties.—Lord Gough and Lord Albemarle both cordially agreed to the motion; and Lord Derby asked permission to insert in the resolution the names of the naval brigade and of Captain Sotheby. In reply to Lord Ellenborough, he stated, that at first he intended to pursue the

course of giving a distinct vote of thanks to Lord Canning and to Lord Clyde, but that he had been guided by the precedent of last year; and he assured him that he had no intention to deprecate the bravery and discipline of the gallant troops who had so nobly done their duty. The motion was then agreed to, *nem. con.*

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, a similar motion was brought forward by Lord Stanley, who went over the same ground as the preceding speakers, and bore eloquent testimony to the wisdom and valour that had justly earned the tribute he claimed for the army of India from the representatives of the people.—Lord Palmerston, in seconding the motion, said he could add nothing to the glowing and heartfelt eulogium which Lord Stanley had bestowed upon the distinguished men—civil, military, and naval—referred to in the proposed vote; but he asked permission to join in that eulogium, and drew the attention of the house especially to the conduct of the great number of civilians scattered over India, who had been exposed to imminent peril, and whose heroic endurance and gallant efforts had conferred additional lustre upon the records of the country to which they belonged.—Sir De Lacy Evans, Lord John Russell, Mr. Vernon Smith, and several other members, expressed their gratification at the proposed vote; and, ultimately, the motion, which embodied resolutions similar to those of the upper house, was agreed to, amidst the cheers of all parties.

It was observed, with respect to this honourable expression of a nation's thanks, that it had been the lot of this country to be so often engaged in hostilities, that a vote of thanks was almost an event of periodical occurrence; and as it generally indicated some foe overthrown, or some new dependency acquired, it bore a kind of analogy to a Roman triumph: but, in the present case, the event had an importance attached to it peculiarly its own;—the Indian mutiny had produced one of the greatest disasters, as its suppression had become one of the chief glories, of our modern history; and now that the heroic band upon whom the fate of an empire had rested, had nobly done their work, and made their names known as symbolic of triumph wherever men of European race were found, it must have been a task more agreeable than usually falls to parliamentary leaders, to recall



to memory their successive achievements, and to show how, from the depth of surprise and ruin, a few brave men had raised the name of their country to more than its former height of power and reputation. From the first ominous whisperings of discontent and conspiracy, to the flight of the last broken horde of rebels across the Nepaulese frontier, was a space of less than two years; yet, in that interval, the mightiest empire ever conquered by man, was to all appearances lost—and again won by the indomitable spirit of a few English soldiers. And it is to be remembered, that much of this glorious achievement—namely, the conquest of Delhi, and the relief of Lucknow, had been effected, and, in short, the whole neck of the rebellion had been broken, before a single regiment from England had set foot on Indian soil. A few hundred men of the Chinese expedition and from the Cape establishment, were hurriedly dispatched to the seat of war; and, for a time, no other help could be given to the handful of men who, at a distance of 700 miles from the coast, and with 100,000 fanatics in arms pressing around them, were able not only to hold their ground, but to wrest fortified places from the enemy, and rescue their own besieged countrymen from their merciless and blood-stained hands.

In looking back to the spring of 1857, from the corresponding season of 1859, it seemed as if a century had passed; so great and so portentous were the events that had intervened. At the former period, the East India Company possessed a name that had influence in the courts of monarchs. The admiration of continental Europe was freely given to the time-honoured body under whose auspices an empire had been created, and by which thrones had been overturned; as the living impersonation of that union of war and commerce by which, during progressive centuries, English greatness had been built up. At home, the *prestige* of the Company was considered as a talisman to insure the obedience of the natives; and the friendship of the chiefs, and the system of government which the Company had established—its machinery of residents, and magistrates, and collectors, was supposed to be identified, in the eyes of Asiatics, with the existence of the corporation itself; and thousands believed that any interference on the part of the crown and parliament in Indian administration, would not only disturb the allegiance of the people,

but would actually destroy the foundations of the government. The spring of 1857, however, with its terrible eventualities, approached; and ere it had passed away, the mutterings of the storm burst into a desolating tempest, and wonder and alarm succeeded to complacent self-gratulation. People could not understand how the horrors that flashed suddenly upon them, could have been engendered, and acquired strength, without even a suspicion on the part of the authorities. They saw that governors, residents, and generals, and civil and military functionaries of all grades, were at fault—that not one of them had, even at the eleventh hour, a notion that one of the largest armies in the world was on the point of a general mutiny—that regiments were corresponding with regiments hundreds of miles off—that Mussulmans and Hindoos had laid aside their feuds to turn against their common ruler; and that the most warlike populations in India were ready to take part with the revolted troops. And thus, while the mine was being carried under their feet, while every servilely obsequious attendant knew that those he served were doomed, and that all around only waited for the signal to pour out their blood like water upon the earth, the victims of this great and fearful conspiracy had not a suspicion that anything was wrong! Such was the consequence of the gulf that existed between the Englishman and the native. The want of sympathy between the two races had induced an isolation of the dominant class, which now rendered it an easy, because unsuspecting, prey to the race by which it was surrounded. It was not possible to believe, that if the intimacy which it is said prevailed in the early days of English rule had still been cultivated, that things could have gone so far without the European community being warned of the impending danger. But as, in the New World, the antipathy of the Anglo-American to the negro has been carried to a degree which the contemporaries of Washington would not have imagined possible, so the English officer of some half century since, who lived on courteous terms with the native gentlemen of his neighbourhood, had been unfortunately succeeded by a class whom an unchecked and abused instinct of nationality, had influenced to look with immeasurable disdain upon all native society.

But this fault, great and damaging as it undoubtedly was in its consequences, was,

nevertheless, nobly atoned for by the courage, skill, and devotion that was shown in meeting the evil it had created. It is not again necessary, at the close of this work, to dilate on the exploits of Wilson, Nicholson, and Neill; on the siege and assault of Delhi; the marches and battles of Havelock; the relief of Lucknow; the chivalrous self-denial of Outram; the brilliant campaigns of Grant, Rose, and Franks; and those other events of marvellous enterprise and undying interest which have already been described in these pages, and are now fixed in the memory of the world: but it may be observed with propriety, that in the conduct of the war of the mutinies, consequences of no small moment to England were involved. Her enemies had thereby again beheld the obstinacy with which Englishmen can resist and avert danger in spite of overwhelming odds, and the energy with which they set to work to repair a defeat: and it probably will not soon be forgotten by them, that at the crisis of its emergency, and while its ill-wishers were prophesying that England would only be enabled to recover her dominion in the East by the help of continental arms, and at the cost of some of its most valued dependencies—a little force of Europeans had already stormed the capital of the Moguls—had avenged on the guilty priuces of the house of Timur, the slaughter of our surprised and unprotected people, and had struck terror throughout Asia, from the Lower Ganges to the shores of the Caspian. To those men was it owing, that the splendour of the British name throughout the world had been rescued from a temporary dimness, and that the noblest empire that conduct and valour ever won, was definitively secured to the crown of their sovereign.

The numerical strength of the British army in India, was adverted to in the House of Commons, by Sir G. C. Lewis, on the 15th of April; and in reply to his inquiry, General Peel (then secretary for war), stated, that speaking from memory, the British army in India amounted to seventy-three regiments of infantry, and twelve of cavalry;

of which aggregate force he wished to withdraw as many regiments as possible; but that in Lord Clyde's opinion, seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were all that could be spared.\* He further stated, that with respect to artillery, the Indian government were preparing to raise twelve batteries of their own, which would render it unnecessary to increase that arm of the service by draughts from this country.

On Tuesday, April 19th, parliament was prorogued by commission; and, on the following Saturday, a notification in the *London Gazette* announced its dissolution, and that her majesty had summoned a new parliament, to meet for the dispatch of business on Tuesday, the 31st day of May then following.

On Sunday, the 1st day of May, pursuant to the royal proclamation already referred to, a thanksgiving service was performed at the churches and other places of worship throughout the country, the day having been set apart, by royal proclamation,† as one of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the success of our arms in India, in suppressing the rebellion and restoring tranquillity. In the metropolis especially, the churches were well attended, and, in most places, a serious desire was evinced by the congregations to sympathise with the occasion. The following form of prayer and thanksgiving was prescribed for the occasion:—

“O Almighty God, who by Thy Providence orderest all things, both in Heaven and earth; we desire to approach Thee this day with the voice of praise and thanksgiving. Thou hast graciously hearkened to the supplications of Thy people, who humbled themselves before Thee, and turned to Thee for succour in the hour of danger. Thou hast heard our prayer: Thou hast maintained our cause: Thou hast frustrated the treacherous designs which were formed against our sovereign and her rule, and threatened British India with wasting and destruction. It hath pleased Thee to scatter our enemies, and to give victory to our arms, and to show that there is ‘no restraint with Thee to save by many or by few.’ We desire to confess that

\* By an official statement published in April, 1859, the following appeared to be a list of the total number of officers and men serving in the “military force” in India, according to the latest returns—viz., in Bengal, her majesty's army, 46,388 men; her majesty's “Indian forces” (Indian artillery), 5,644; and local corps, 62,692: making a

grand total of 104,724, besides 6,704 police. In the Punjab, 27,711 men, of whom 24,078 were serving in the Punjab and the Delhi territory, and 3,633 in Hindostan; and in Madras, 11,726 men of her majesty's army, and 72,964 of the Indian forces: making, together, 84,690 men.

† See *ante*, p. 650.



it is through Thy mercy that the hearts of our countrymen have remained undaunted in peril, and patient in suffering: Thou hast guided the counsels of our rulers, and strengthened the hands of our soldiers—Thou hast comforted the widows and the fatherless, and through Thy providence their affliction has been relieved. Grant, we beseech Thee, that every renewal of Thy lovingkindness towards our country may lead us to unfeigned thankfulness, and dispose us to walk more humbly and obediently before Thee.

“And now, O Lord, when through Thy goodness tranquillity has been restored to our rich and fruitful territory in the East, direct, we pray Thee, the minds of its inhabitants to the Author of our strength, and source of our power, even to Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Let the light of the everlasting Gospel disperse the darkness of idolatry and superstition which has encouraged their murderous rebellion. Teach them to prize the benefits which they have long enjoyed through the supremacy of this Christian nation, and so dispose the hearts of those who sojourn there, that they may set forth, both by word and good example, the blessings of Thy holy religion. So shall the calamities from which we have been mercifully relieved be overruled to the promotion of Thy glory, and the advancement of the kingdom of Thy blessed Son, our only Lord and Saviour: To whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.”

On the 7th of October, 1857, the nation had humbled itself under the chastening hand of the Almighty, for the calamities which had been brought upon a vast portion of the empire, through the revolt of its Indian army; and many who were seriously impressed with the lesson thus imparted to the rulers of the land, thought that humiliation had been too long delayed. The principal massacres had taken place before the end of July; Delhi had been stormed and recovered on the 14th of September; and the tide of misfortune was already on the ebb, when the attitude of deprecation and humility was assumed: and when, on the 1st of May, 1859, the nation was called upon to offer its thanksgivings for victories won and for the suppression of the revolt, the day of rejoicing at this moment was considered by many as premature as the one of humiliation had been tardy;

for five of the prime leaders of the rebellion were still in arms against British rule, and there was, apparently, inflammable material enough to raise a second flame throughout India, quite as destructive as that which was now flickering in the air.

And, unfortunately, another source of disquietude had by this time become visible, in the avowed objection of a portion of the European artillery and cavalry, belonging to the late East India Company, to be uncereemoniously transferred to the Queen's service. The circumstances attending this unexpected difficulty (which first exhibited itself at Meerut, of ill-omened notoriety), appear to have been as follows:—

On Sunday, the 1st of May, the very day on which the people of the United Kingdom were offering their tribute of thanksgiving for the successful results of the war, a trooper of a cavalry regiment, stationed at Meerut, reported to his officer, that meetings of Bengal artillerymen, and troopers of the 2nd cavalry, had been held on the subject of their transference to the crown without being re-enlisted and attested, and receiving free bounty-money—a procedure which they looked upon as illegal and unjust; and that they were deliberating upon the means to obtain a formal discharge from the service of the Company, prior to entering upon any military obligation to the crown. The importance of this communication rendered immediate steps necessary to ascertain the fact of the objection, and the extent to which it had spread among the late Company's troops; and information was conveyed to General Bradford, commanding the district; who, the same day, held a council of war, at which it was decided to seize the ringleaders of the movement. Subsequently, however, the general determined to adopt a milder course; and, on the 2nd, the garrison was ordered out, each regiment on its own parade-ground. The general, with Brigadier Horsford, then inspected the Bengal horse artillery; after which the latter officer addressed the men; expressed his regret at the information which had been forwarded to head-quarters, and called upon such of them as were content to remain in the service of the Queen, to step forward. Although the appeal was answered by the prompt advance of about two-thirds of the men present, it was deemed advisable to deprive the corps of its small arms, and confine the men to quarters. The

general then proceeded to the parade-ground of the 2nd regiment of Bengal cavalry, where a similar proceeding took place; and it was here ascertained, that a plan of resistance to their regimental officers and superior commanders, had not only been organised by the malcontents, but that, at one moment, they were on the point of breaking into open hostilities against the authorities. To meet the emergency thus threatened, the commander-in-chief, then at Simla, was telegraphed to, and immediately came down to the scene of disquiet. Upon his lordship's arrival, he made known his views in the following general order:—

"The commander-in-chief has received a full report of the disquiet that has lately pervaded the minds of some of the men belonging to the Bengal artillery and 2nd European cavalry at Meerut.

"His excellency is happy to observe that the demeanour of the men towards their officers has been properly respectful.

"If a soldier has a complaint to make, or considers himself in any manner aggrieved, it is his right to make a proper and respectful representation through the usual channels to superior authority, and to ask for redress. But when this representation has been made, the soldier must be at his duty, and he must wait with due deference, patience, and obedience, for the ultimate decision.

"The commander-in-chief desires that the soldiers of the Bengal artillery and 2nd light cavalry, who have lately been struck off duty, may return to their duty.

"The major-general commanding the division is directed to convene a 'special court of inquiry,' for the purpose of hearing what every man has to say. The evidence taken will be the fullest possible. Each man in the two regiments will be called upon to state whether he has any grievance; and if so, what that grievance is, and what are the grounds of it. It is only by such means that the commander-in-chief can arrive at the real merits of the case, as considered by the men; and in this manner the assurance will be conveyed to them that every man's sentiments will become known to the highest authority, and that due consideration will be given to them.

"With regard to the question at issue—viz., the transfer to the crown of the late Company's army, which has caused the recent excitement—the men will perceive that it affects them in common with their officers, and all the services of the country, including the civil service. There is no distinction drawn between any ranks, and they are called on alike to obey an 'act of parliament.' But if any party feels himself aggrieved by an 'act of parliament,' he is at liberty to petition respectfully against it. It is on this ground that his excellency has ordered the court of inquiry—viz., to enable the men who consider themselves aggrieved by the late act, to give expression to their own views, or, in other words, to petition in a soldier-like and regular manner, which they understand themselves, against what they consider to be a hardship.

"The court of inquiry will assemble, composed as follows, immediately after the arrival of the judge-advocate-general at Meerut:—President—Brigadier

Horsford, Bengal artillery. Members—Colonel Huyshe, Bengal artillery; Colonel Radcliffe, her majesty's 75th foot. Colonel Young, the judge-advocate-general of the army, will conduct the proceedings.

"The above order will be entered in the regimental and company orderly books of all the European corps at Meerut.

(Signed) "W. R. MANSFIELD, Major-general,  
"Chief of the Staff."

The promulgation of this order was attended with the happiest effect, as it satisfied the men that the soldier's grievance would now be dealt with by a soldier, and that their interests would no longer be influenced by the opinion of crown lawyers, who, in answer to the question submitted to them as to the granting of additional bounty to the European troops formerly in the pay of the Company, and by it transferred to the crown, had decided against the right of the men to any such grant. Colonel Johnstone, assistant-adjutant-general of artillery, was immediately sent, by Lord Clyde, to Calcutta, to consult with the governor-general, and it was expected, also, to advise him that the claim of the late Company's European troops was equitable, and ought to be conceded.

It was unfortunate that the war which had ended so gloriously, and in which the valour of the troops concerned in this untoward movement was most conspicuous, should have had a cloud unnecessarily cast over its history in the very hour of consummating its triumphs; and it was felt by all reasonable people, that the mere fact of a legal opinion being thought necessary as to the validity of the transfer of the army, ought to have been a sufficient reason to accede to the desire of the men to be re-enlisted upon entering into the Queen's service, without raising an unseemly legal question upon the subject.

With regard to the justice of the claim on the part of the men, it might be supposed, that except it had become entangled in the meshes of legal subtlety, no question could have arisen about it. During the existence of the Company, a large number of men took service under it, and were bound to it by oaths and by the regulations of its service: they were not in the slightest degree identified with the service of the crown, nor were they recognised by it in its military arrangements. To the East India Company only, therefore, those men belonged: they were its soldiers, its defenders, the promoters of its interests and policy; and whatever might become of



their masters, there was certainly no existing obligation which united them, as a military body, to another ruler. Now, to say the least, it was culpable ignorance on the part of the governing powers, both in India and at home, not to have foreseen the complications which might naturally arise out of the transfer of a large army from one authority to another: besides which, it certainly appeared, that but slight account was taken of the feelings of these European soldiers of the Company, when they were unceremoniously handed over from Company to Crown, as if they had merely been so many bullocks or elephants. That they should object to this summary mode of disposing of their services, was but natural and reasonable. It was *not* right that the remnant of a glorious army, which had made for itself a history of undying fame, should be transferred like a drove of cattle, or a plantation of slaves, from one owner to another: and certainly somewhat more of consideration was due to those who had freely contributed their blood to win back a revolted empire. If, under the pecuniary embarrassments of the Indian government at the time of the assumption by the crown, the eight or ten lacs of rupees that might have been required for the re-enlistment of these men was really an object of difficulty, the least that should have been done, after explaining to them the strict *legal* view of the case as taken by the crown lawyers, was, to have told them that the value of their services could not be weighed against a paltry sum of money, but that the state was poor; and if it could not give them all they deserved, it would, at least, give all it could afford. Had such an appeal, or anything like it, been made to the late Company's troops, it is more than probable—nay, it is certain—that, with the generous spirit which animates the English soldier, not one man able to serve the Queen, would have refused to enlist into her Indian army.

The discontent which had exhibited itself at Meerut, was not, however, confined to that station. Allahabad, Berhampore, Lahore, and Gwalior, were equally disquieted by a sense of the injustice to which the late Company's troops were subjected; and it was rumoured and believed, that her majesty's 75th regiment, sympathising with the grievance of their new comrades in the service, had intimated that it would not act against them. Under

such circumstances it was for the government to retrace its ill-advised step with the best grace possible.

Ultimately it appeared, that the wise measures taken by Lord Clyde to allay the discontent of the European forces of the late Company, resulted in the re-establishment of order and discipline throughout the whole body; and, by his sanction, the following petition to parliament was forwarded by the mail of the 25th of May, from the 3rd Bengal Europeans:—

*"To the Honourable the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

"The petition of the undersigned men belonging to No. 3 and No. 8 companies 2nd Bengal European regiment of the late Hon. East India Company's service, on detachment duty at Sepree, Central India,

"Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioners had the first official intimation of their services being transferred to the crown, without their consent or re-enlistment, on the 7th day of May current, by the following notification being read to them on parade:—

"Fort William, 8th April, 1859.

"No. 480 of 1859.—Upon the recent transfer of the forces of the late East India Company to the immediate service of her majesty, under the provisions of the Act of the 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106, certain European soldiers of the East India Company's forces having claimed their discharge or their enlistment anew into the Queen's service with fresh bounty, the subject was brought under the consideration of her majesty's government, and referred to the law officers of the crown.

"His excellency the viceroy and governor-general of India in council has now to announce to the European soldiers of her majesty's Indian forces in the three presidencies, who were formerly in the service of the East India Company, that her majesty's government have finally decided that the claim made to discharge, or re-enlistment with bounty, is inadmissible.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Major-general,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

"That your petitioners beg to bring under the notice of your honourable house, that they enlisted to serve in the Hon. East India Company's infantry, which the following question in your petitioners' attestation will show:—"8. Are you willing to be attested to serve in the East India Company's infantry, for the term of ten years, provided the said Company should so long require your services?" &c. That your petitioners beg to call the attention of your honourable house to another form of No. 8 question, contained in the schedules annexed to the Mutiny Act for the year 1854:—"8. Are you willing to be attested to serve in her majesty's army, or in the forces of the East India Company, according as her majesty may think fit to order?" &c.

"That your petitioners beg to submit to your honourable house that they were not attested by the latter question, but by the former; and that your petitioners beg humbly to submit their opinion that they could not, therefore, according to the meaning of the Mutiny Act, be transferred to her

majesty's service without your petitioners' consent, or without their re-enlistment.

"That your petitioners humbly submit to your honourable house, that such transfer, which has been decided by the law officers of the crown as being in accordance with the provisions of certain clauses of the India Act of last session, does not accord with the customs and usages of the service; as, when the crown assumed the government of the island of St. Helena from the late East India Company, the troops there belonging to the said Company were not then transferred to the crown, but received a free and unconditional discharge.

"That your petitioners beg also to submit to the consideration of your honourable house, that both in India and in the late East India Company's depôt in England, when a soldier belonging to the infantry was transferred to the cavalry, the said soldier had to be re-enlisted and resworn before a magistrate. How much more necessary does it appear to your petitioners that they should have been re-enlisted and resworn when your petitioners were transferred from the late East India Company's service to that of her majesty's Indian military forces.

"That your petitioners beg to submit that they are corroborated in the opinion of their right to claim their discharge, on the late East India Company ceasing to exercise governmental powers in India, by what her majesty's late first minister of the crown—Lord Palmerston—is reported to have stated, in his place in your honourable house, when introducing the first India Bill, that—'The other (the late Company's troops) will be transferred to the crown, for the service of the country, subject to certain conditions of service under which they have enlisted; and, of course, if any of them should dislike the change, they will be entitled to their discharge, if they prefer that, rather than to serve the crown on the same conditions and regulations as those under which they entered the service of the Company.'

"That your petitioners beg to submit to your honourable house, that they made their contract with the late East India Company, and no other party; and that the said Company, when ceasing their connexion with the government of India, could not, according to the usages and customs of the service, transfer your petitioners without their free will and consent; neither is it in accordance, your petitioners would beg humbly to submit, with the spirit of the recent legislation of your honourable house, to transfer British soldiers or British subjects from one service, or one master, to another, without their free will and consent.

"That your petitioners have been graciously permitted by Lord Clyde, commander-in-chief of the army in India (per mem. by his excellency, dated 'Kussowlee, 5th May, 1859,' par. 6, and published in Meerut divisional orders), to lay their grievances, entailed upon them by the recent India Act, as interpreted by the law officers of the crown, before your honourable house, that you may give them your most careful consideration.

"That your petitioners, while requesting of your honourable house to carefully consider your petitioners' case, by granting them that freedom of choice which your petitioners have endeavoured to show to your honourable house that they are entitled to, do not yield in loyalty to her most gracious majesty the Queen, nor in patriotism to their country, as the recent services of your petitioners during the mutiny in India have indubitably shown.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

"Sepree, Central India, May 16th, 1859."

(Signed by nearly the whole of the detachment.)

Such was the critical state of affairs as between the government and the late Company's army, when the mail of the 25th of May, 1859, left India—the men respectful, but firm in demanding their right; the government embarrassed by an unseemly blunder, which had placed it in an unsatisfactory point of view with the troops; and the natives watching with intense eagerness, in the hope that, from the unfortunate dissension which had arisen, they might be able to snatch an advantage that, if properly managed, would reopen the question of native supremacy.

The mail to which reference has just been made, also brought to England the decision of the Indian government upon the case of the nawab of Furruckabad, who, it will be remembered, was sentenced to death by a military commission sitting in his own capital, the execution being respited until confirmation of the sentence by the governor-general.\* The reference to that high functionary resulted in an unwilling commutation of the sentence pronounced, which was notified in the following order:—

"Fort William, 10th May, 1859.

"His excellency the viceroy and governor-general in council has under his consideration the proceedings of the special commission assembled at Furruckabad for the trial of Tufuzzul Hosein, formerly nawab of Furruckabad.

"The charges against the prisoner were as follows:—

"1st Count.—That he, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, being a person owing allegiance to the British government, did rebel and wage war against the said British government from the month of June to the end of December, 1857, and acted as a leader and instigator in revolt in the Furruckabad district, one of the centres of rebellion during the above period.

"2nd Count.—That he, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, was a principal and accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of many British subjects in the aforesaid district of Furruckabad and its neighbourhood, between the months of June and December, 1857, in the following instances:—

"1st. To the murder of forty Europeans, more or less, on the Maunpoor Kutree, or sand-bank, in the month of July, 1857.

"2nd. To the murder of European ladies and children, with Eurasians and native Christians, about twenty-two in all, on the Futteghur parade-ground, in the month of July, 1857.

"3rd. To the murder of Kallay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th native infantry, in the month of July or August, 1857.

\* See ante, pp. 594—596.



"4th. To the murder of two loyal Sikhs, names unknown, who were killed with Kallay Khan, sepoy, in the month of July or August, 1857."

"After a patient, careful, and impartial trial, the Court pronounced the following verdict and sentence:—

"The Court unanimously convict the prisoner Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, ex-Nawab Raees of Furruckabad, as follows:—

"1st Count.—Guilty.—That is to say, that he, being a person owing allegiance to the British government, did rebel and wage war against the said British government from the month of June to the end of December, 1857, and was a principal leader and instigator in the revolt in the Furruckabad district, one of the centres of rebellion, during the above period.

"2nd Count.—In the first instance, guilty of being an accessory, after the fact, to the murder of forty Europeans, or thereabouts, on the Maunpoor Kutree, or sand-bank, in the river Ganges, on or about the 4th of July, 1857.

"In the second instance, guilty of being an accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of twenty-two persons or thereabouts, being European, East Indian, and native Christians, men, women, and children, on the Futteghur parade-ground, on or about the 23rd of July, 1857.

"In the third instance, guilty of being accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of Kallay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th regiment of native infantry, at Furruckabad, on or about the 29th of July, 1857.

"In the fourth instance, guilty of being accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of two loyal Sikhs, names unknown, at Furruckabad, on or about the 29th of July, 1857.

"This Court having found the prisoner guilty as above, do sentence him, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, to be hanged by the neck till he be dead; and do further adjudge that all his property, of whatever description, be confiscated; but in obedience to the orders of government appointing this commission, the execution of this sentence is suspended until receipt of further orders."

"The governor-general in council entirely approves and confirms the verdict and sentence of the Court. The former is fully borne out by the evidence adduced on the trial, and the latter is the only sentence which could properly be passed on the criminal.

"But it came out on the trial, and was pleaded by the prisoner as a bar to the execution of the sentence, that before his surrender, a letter had been written to him by Major Barrow, the special commissioner with the camp of his excellency the commander-in-chief; in which he was invited to surrender; and that in this letter he was told that pardon had been extended to all who had not personally committed the murder of British subjects; and that, if he had not personally committed the murder of British subjects, he might surrender without apprehension.

"Whatever may have been the meaning of Major Barrow in addressing this letter to Tufuzzul Hosein, and whatever may have been the prisoner's understanding of it at the time, it is certain that, on the receipt of it, he immediately surrendered. He now claims the fulfilment of the promise of pardon made by Major Barrow; being found guilty, not of having personally committed the murder of English

subjects, but of having been an accessory before the fact.

"The governor-general in council entirely condemns and disavows the act of Major Barrow, in making a promise contrary to the royal proclamation, and contrary to the express orders of the government excepting the prisoner from all benefit of pardon. But his excellency in council will not suffer it to be said that the prisoner, having been induced to surrender on the promise of a British officer in Major Barrow's position, has in consequence of that surrender been put to death for a crime of less degree than that which was designated by the officer as alone rendering him liable to punishment.

"The governor-general in council has therefore resolved to forbear carrying out the sentence of the Court on Tufuzzul Hosein, on the condition that he shall immediately quit the British territory for ever. If he accept this condition, he will be conveyed to the frontier as a convict under a military guard, and there set at liberty. If he refuse the condition, or if, having accepted it, he shall break it, or attempt to break it, now, or at any future time, the capital sentence pronounced upon him will be carried out.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India."

Immediately upon this order reaching Futteghur, the nawab was required to select a place of residence; and he indicated *Mecca* as the most desirable city to which, as a Mussulman, he could repair. Short time was allowed for preparation. He expressed a desire to see his wives and children previous to his departure; but only the latter were allowed to have an interview with him. At its termination, he was heavily fettered, and lifted into a covered cart, the weight of the irons preventing him from using his legs; two servants were allowed to attend him, and 1,000 rupees were handed over to him for his subsistence, the whole of his estates having been confiscated. When placed in the vehicle that was to convey him to the verge of the British territory, he appeared depressed and haggard; and among the crowd of his countrymen who had gathered together to witness his departure, many were moved to tears by sympathy for him. A strong guard of the Futtehpore levy formed his escort, and six men with loaded rifles kept watch over his person.

The mails of the 3rd of June added little of interest to the information already possessed respecting the movements of the rebels; but the following despatch from General Mansfield, describes so fully the entire series of operations on the borders of Nepal, from the time the rebel bands were driven across the frontier by Lord Clyde, that it may be properly referred to as an

official *résumé* of the closing incidents of the war :—

"To Major-general Birch, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta.

"Army Head-quarters, Simla, 3rd May.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by order of the commander-in-chief, to bring to your notice for submission to his excellency the viceroy and governor-general, the series of events, in a connected form, which have taken place in the northern district of Oude, in Goruckpore, and the Nepaul frontier, since the rebels were driven across the border by his excellency at the end of last year.

"2. It will be in the recollection of the governor-general, that according to the orders of government, instructions were given forbidding the troops at that date to pursue their advantages beyond the limits of the British territory. The rebels had retreated *en masse*, under their principal leaders, to the far side of the first range of hills along which runs the frontier of Nepaul. They took up a position near the Sitka Ghât, beyond the first pass; while Brigadier Horsford remained encamped on the banks of the Raptee, within our own boundary. At the same time, the enemy, who had been beaten in the neighbourhood of Toolseypore by Sir Hope Grant, had crossed the mountains opposite the latter place. They remained in the first valley in considerable numbers.

"3. At the end of January, Maharajah Jung Bahadoor having expressed a wish that the British troops should operate in Nepaul, Brigadier Horsford was directed, by the commander-in-chief, to move forward and disperse the rebels, who were still encamped beyond the Sitka Ghât. On the 10th of February the brigadier gave execution to his orders, took all the guns possessed by the enemy, thirteen in number, and cleared the valley lying between the first two ranges of hills. He had been instructed not to pass the second range; to be most careful in his treatment of the Nepaulese authorities and people; to put an absolute stop to plunder; to forbid the slaughter of kine, even for the use of his British troops; and to cause the whole population to understand, that his march in Nepaul was merely for the purpose of securing tranquillity and safety for them. Brigadier Horsford's measures were taken, throughout, in exact accordance with his instructions. Compensation was paid for damaged crops; no cattle were killed; the strictest discipline was preserved; and it is gratifying to know that the inhabitants of the valley testified their regret when, the object of his mission having been accomplished, Brigadier Horsford retraced his steps after a fortnight's occupation of the country.

"4. Brigadier Horsford's advance caused great alarm among the followers of the Begum, the Nana, Bala Rao, Bainie Madhoo, Jodh Sing, Mahomed Hussein, and other rebel leaders, who still kept the remnant of the fugitive sepoys together. The numbers of these sepoys were largely stated by the Ghoorka authorities, much more so indeed than was guaranteed by facts. Nevertheless their numbers were considerable, and it is possible they may have amounted to ten thousand fighting-men, exclusive of the very numerous followers in attendance on the begum, and the chiefs.

"5. At this time, Jung Bahadoor's plan to allow all the rebels who had retreated across the second

range of hills to move eastward to the Gunduck, was communicated to the commander-in-chief by government. Jung Bahadoor proposed to allow this body of people to get as far as the Gunduck, where they were to deliver up their arms to his troops. They were then, having been furnished with passes by the British resident of Nepaul, to be led down in bodies of a thousand to Segowlie, for the purpose of being thence dispatched to their homes under the sanction of the British authorities. At the same time Jung Bahadoor manifested a wish, that a body of British troops should move eastward from Oude, through the Goruckpore district, to be ready to co-operate with his army, if the necessity should arise. There could be no doubt of the expediency of such a measure. It appeared extremely hazardous to the commander-in-chief to trust altogether to the likelihood of the sepoy disarmament, as proposed, and apparently hoped for, by Jung Bahadoor. If the sepoy rabble had appeared at the passes of the Gunduck, without a sufficient body of British troops being ready in that neighbourhood to bar their descent into our neighbouring provinces, the rich territory of Tirhoot would have been absolutely at their mercy. This being the case, no time was lost in organising, by order of the government, a sufficient brigade of all the arms, which was sent forward by corps, to take post at Ramnuggur, beyond the Gunduck, to the north of Segowlie. Colonel Kelly, 34th foot, was placed in command of it, and was carefully instructed to meet the views of Jung Bahadoor, if his design of the sepoy disarmament should succeed; but, in any case, to be prepared to bar the progress of any rebels into the district of Tirhoot. At the same time H.M.'s 19th foot was held in readiness at Dinapore, to be thrown across the Ganges and advance to Tirhoot itself if any contingency of the campaign should render the movement desirable. During this time all the posts were maintained along the border running to the north of Goruckpore and the Trans-Gogra districts. The Moradabad levy arrived in due course to reinforce the troops under Brigadier Horsford. H.M.'s 53rd regiment and the Kumaon battalion were detained on the frontier, although destined for other quarters.

"6. Reports reached his excellency, at short intervals, of the progress of the rebels through the country of Nepaul, till at length, at the beginning of March, they appeared on the Gunduck. It soon became evident that Jung Bahadoor's expectations would not be fulfilled; and that so far from any disarmament of the sepoys taking place, either voluntarily or in consequence of compulsion, by the Ghoorka forces, there was reason to believe that sympathy for the rebels existed in the Ghoorka ranks. After a time Jung Bahadoor again solicited the aid of British troops, and declared that the sepoys under the Begum and Nana, who had reached the Gunduck, were beyond his control. Thereupon Colonel Kelly was immediately authorised by the commander-in-chief, in anticipation of the orders of the governor-general (which followed shortly afterwards), to pass the border in his front, and to break up the bodies of rebels which had moved eastward. He was also empowered, by the commander-in-chief, to make requisitions on all the officers commanding troops along the Goruckpore frontier, that a combination among the various forces might be insured for the common object. Colonel Kelly acted in accordance with his instructions, and with great spirit. He advanced



with rapidity, pressed the enemy home, and defeated him twice with considerable loss, taking seven guns from him, and effectually turning the whole body to the westward.

"7. The immediate result of these actions was the surrender of some chiefs of note, including Mahomed Hussein and the ranee of Toolseypore. The rebel sepoys, fairly frightened, made to the westward; and in the second week of April, authentic reports reached the commander-in-chief that, although the begum was believed to be still not far from Bhootwal, she had but 150 followers with her. This was very important, as much alarm would seem to have previously prevailed in the Tirhoot district. At the request of the civil authorities in that quarter, her majesty's 19th foot and some Sikh cavalry had been pushed out in march to Tirhoot from Dinapore. This force did not encounter an enemy. In the course of his operations Colonel Kelly failed to meet with a friendly support from the Ghoorka generals, or other authorities. These latter persisted in their attempts to blacken the character of British troops in the court of Nepaul, ascribing all sorts of violence and outrage to them; and they actually asserted that villages, known to have been burnt and plundered by the rebels, had been destroyed by the British soldiery. This appears to have been met with great calmness; and his excellency has much pleasure in assuring the governor-general, that Colonel Kelly has been most explicit in his reports on the good discipline of the force under his command.

"8. About the last week of March, the rebels, who had been driven westward, began to show again in the mountain north of the Trans-Gogra district. They were starving, and in a most wretched condition. They had become satisfied that nothing was to be obtained in Nepaul and the Terai but the most scanty subsistence, and a certainty of jungle fever. They seem to have quickly made up their minds; and after having been engaged with great success by Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, of the 1st Sikh infantry, who repulsed them with considerable loss, part of them succeeded in passing Major Ramsay's post under the hills, and made for the Raptee. The troops at Nuwabgunge, Barabinkee, including the Queen's Bays, a regiment of Hodson's Horse, and a troop of horse artillery, were pushed on immediately across the Gogra to Secrora; and Major-general Sir Hope Grant, K.C.B., was directed to proceed himself in person to Fyzabad, to direct the operations which had now become necessary for the final destruction of the last remnant of the rebel army.

"9. Sir Hope Grant moved rapidly out of Lucknow with another regiment of Hodson's Horse and two horse artillery guns. When passing through Durriabad, he made arrangements for the safe guard of the Gogra, and then proceeded to Gonda, by way of Fyzabad. He was instructed to infuse the utmost energy into the movements and actions of all the officers commanding columns and posts in the district, and to desire that the rebels, who it was known were half-starved, worn-out, and utterly demoralised, should be attacked immediately, wherever they could be found, and under all circumstances. These orders have been acted up to, and several small affairs have taken place—all with signal success, with hardly any loss to ourselves, and giving the best practical proof of the abject state to which the rebels are reduced,

and that the final and utter break-up of the last remaining insurgents may be immediately looked for. The affairs to which allusion have been made, are—one in which Major Cormick, of the 20th foot, commanded; two conducted by Major Vaughan, of the 5th Sikh infantry; another by Major Murray; a pursuit led by Colonel Walker, of the 2nd dragoon guards; and a spirited skirmish, under Captain Rennie. Brigadier Horsford having been in pursuit of the largest remaining body on the road towards the Khyreeghur jungles, came up with them near Buneapore on the 25th of April, and inflicted heavy loss. It is represented that the unhappy enemy is only seeking to escape observation. Several parties have given themselves up, both infantry and cavalry, besides various leaders, of whom perhaps the most considerable is Jodh Sing, the rajah of Churdah. The Nana lately wrote to Brigadier Rowcroft, attempting to excuse himself. In short, Lord Clyde would congratulate his excellency the governor-general on this irruption having taken place at a time when the arrangements made to meet such a contingency, three months ago, were still complete. Considering the temper of an influential portion of the Nepaulese, it is not impossible that the permanent residence of the rebel chiefs, and their sepoy followers in Nepaul, might have caused considerable trouble hereafter with the government of that country; while, at the same time, even their presence on a frontier we were unwilling to cross was a standing threat, and consequently not to be borne. It is therefore, in Lord Clyde's opinion, a happy circumstance that these wretched people were urged to take the course they have pursued, and so to bring on the immediate crisis, which cannot but prove the effectual termination of that great mutiny and rebellion which broke out exactly two years ago.

"10. In conclusion, his excellency desires me to say, that as soon as it can be done with prudence, no time shall be lost in sending the troops into quarters.—I have, &c.,

"W. R. MANSFIELD, Major-general,  
"Chief of the Staff."

It now only remained for the home government, by its wisdom and liberality, and for the local government, by its energy and decision in carrying into effect the measures initiated by the supreme council for the tranquillity and future prosperity of the country, to consolidate and establish the fact of British domination over the races and creeds of its Indian empire. Fortunately, by the middle of the year, the power of guiding the destinies of that vast territory and its dependencies, had reverted to hands accustomed to govern, and who were, it may be said, personally identified with the epoch of the revolt. Shortly after the assembling of the new parliament, in June, 1859, a vote of censure and want of confidence was carried, in the House of Commons, against the administration of Lord Derby; in consequence of which his lordship and colleagues resigned office, and were succeeded by Viscount Palmerston,

as leader of a liberal and progressive cabinet. The seals of the secretary of state for India, first held under the imperial government by Lord Stanley, now passed into the hands of Sir Charles Wood, a statesman of acknowledged experience in Indian affairs, and whose appointment to the important office was looked upon with satisfaction by most parties interested in the future welfare of the country over whose councils he was called upon to preside.

We shall here close the history of the mutinous outbreak of 1857-'58. It is not necessary again to recall to the mental vision of Europe the splendour of the whole panorama of Indian history, from the sailing of the first English merchant ships into the Gulf of Cambay, in 1612, and the gorgeous embassy from James I. to the great Jehangheer (some three years after), down to the successful development of English civilisation in all its forms of railways, canals, roads, bridges, colleges, and village schools—that have altogether changed the face of the country, and, in the ordinary course of events, will doubtless ultimately change the very natures of its people. There is certainly no need that we should extend these pages merely to remind Englishmen of the transcendent valour exhibited, in the distant fields of Hindostan, by their countrymen, upon all occasions of need, from the days of Clive to those of Colin Campbell; or to tell them of the energy of the Anglo-Indian government, when really roused to action—from its heroic defiance of the tyrant of Mysore, in 1780, down to the triumphant issue of the late contest, in 1859; since the dignity and ability which characterised the powerful rule of the merchant princes of England over the diademed potentates and swarming millions of their Asiatic empire, has been patent to the world, from the first hour in which the East India Company found work for its hand to do, to the moment when the knell of its departing greatness burst upon the astonished ear of Europe.

The almost unbroken series of brilliant

triumphs—by which the hydra of rebellion was crushed, and the mild sceptre of Queen Victoria was extended over a land yet bleeding from the ravages of a cruel and unprovoked war—had, by the Midsummer of 1859, left little ground for apprehension as to the permanent restoration of tranquillity among the varied races that had become subject to her majesty's direct rule. By valour and energy India had once more been fairly conquered in the field, and it was now that the triumphs of civilisation and of peace were to recommence. The task of reconciling antagonistic races and creeds to the rule of strangers, and of producing order from chaos, and safety from the midst of danger, might be difficult and tardy; but it was not insurmountable; for the *way* was manifest, and the *will* was to it.

We have thus traced the progress of the sepoy revolt of 1857, from its outbreak to its close—following the march of outrage, step by step, to the consummation of its punishment. Remembering that

“A honest tale speeds best when plainly told;”

it may be that less attention has been paid to ornamentation of style, than to fidelity of detail: and thus, if the work be not so eloquently phrased as some might desire, it nevertheless presents to the world a record of events compiled from authentic sources of information, and as correct, in regard to facts and dates, as careful reference to the irregular and fitful issue of official reports, military despatches, and parliamentary documents, combined with patient investigation, have rendered possible. In the earlier stages of the mutiny, when the mind of Europe was kept in a state of fevered excitement by reports of outrage that reached this country, in the most exaggerated form, much caution was necessary in sifting the *husks* of fiction from the *grains* of truth: and it is confidently hoped that the result of the endeavour to record facts only, is such as will entitle these volumes to rank among the standard histories of the era to which they belong.



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Afghanistan

2. The Peshawar Valley Army - General Sir F. Roberts - Major General Sir F. Roberts - Major General Sir F. Roberts
3. Khugiany Column - Major General Sir F. Roberts

In consequence of treacherous dealings by the Affghans with the British  
an armed exhibition of hostile opposition to receiving the Majesty, a force  
was sent to Cabul: both treacherous acts toward Britain to whom  
they are under great obligations, and after a few common sense and  
friendly attempt to get them to withdraw from their hostile position  
against Britain. The British troops on Wednesday, the 20th November 1878 entered  
Afghanistan in three divisions with a few days' march  
troops @  $\frac{1}{3}$  Lepays.  $\frac{1}{3}$  British troops

On Thursday 21st & on 22nd 23rd the British, Fort Kapiyon &  
21 & 22 found & were taken & the Affghans fled

the British success of 23rd 1st. The British on way to  
Kabul for help: but is said to have died suddenly.

His son Yakoub Khan succeeds him: but he is opposed.  
He is obstinate and still hostile to Britain.







